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Tirana Reported 'Calm' After Earthquake

LD091017 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0803 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Tirana, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—Last night's earthquake which hit the central parts of Albania forced the residents of Tirana to leave their homes, but the situation is calm this morning. According to reliable sources, there was not much damage near the SFRY Embassy, although one wall has cracked.

The city transport is functioning normally this morning, yet the sound of ambulances is heard from time to time. There are no official reports about possible casualties.

According to official reports announced in Tirana this morning, the intensity of the earthquake was 4.8 degrees on the Richter scale and 6 to 7 on the Mercalli scale.

As reported by Albania's ATA agency, the earthquake has caused minor damage in some villages in the vicinity of Tirana.

According to the information of the seismological institutes in Belgrade and Titograd, the earthquake's intensity was 5.7 degrees on the Richter scale (about 8 on the mercalli), and the epicenter was about 20 km south of Tirana toward the industrial centre of Elbasan, which is situated 50 km from the capital of Albania.

Damage in Villages Detailed

AU092003 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] At 0202 today, 9 January 1988, Albania's seismological network registered an earthquake with a magnitude of 4.8 on the Richter scale and with an intensity of 6-7 degrees on the Mercalli scale. The epicenter was in the vicinity of Tirana, in its southwestern part. There has been no loss of life, but there was some material damage. The tremors were felt at a strength of 6 degrees in the city of Tirana and less strongly throughout the rest of the country. The quake was followed by a number of light tremors.

As a result of this quake, a number of houses and sociocultural institutions have been damaged. In Petrele, Valdushk, Veqarr, and Ndroc, 138 homes were seriously damaged, some of which have become inhabitable. Some 39 low buildings have been damaged in the cities, as well as 11 schools and kindergartens in the cities and the countryside. Light damage has occurred in both rural and urban areas. Party and state cadres in the districts, officials in agricultural cooperatives, and construction specialists visited villages and assessed the damage that had been caused, and determined measures to repair the damage. The village people's councils sheltered the families affected in the homes of other cooperativists. All villages and cooperatives have decided to repair the damage caused through their own efforts and various enterprises will assist them by providing construction materials.

Myftiu Attends Aktiv on Productivity

AU091259 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Excerpt] The Fier District People's Council Executive Committee, in cooperation with the district's AWP committee and the Labor and Wages Committee attached to the Council of Ministers, today organized an extended aktiv to analyze the work carried out last year and the current year's tasks in further raising labor productivity. The aktiv was attended by managers of industrial and agricultural enterprises, and by planning department chiefs from some southern districts.

The aktiv was also attended by Comrade Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Halil Hasko, Fier District AWP Committee first secretary; Bajram Xhaja, chairman of the Labor and Wages Committee, and other comrades.

Dhimiter Brisku, chairman of the Fier District People's Council Executive Committee, opened the aktiv. The report delivered by Stero Mili, planning department chief of the Fier District People's Council Executive Committee, and the ensuing discussions analyzed the factors leading to the further elevation of labor productivity, with particular stress on the achievements of vanguard collectives. Accordingly, 48 production, construction, and service enterprises fulfilled and overfulfilled the 1987 tasks as a result of a 3-15 percent increase in labor productivity. [passage omitted]

Malile Attends Cuban Embassy Reception

AU091247 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Tirana January 9 (ATA)—On the occasion of the national day, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Carlos Alonso Moreno, gave a reception at the Embassy seat on January 8, in the evening.

Attending were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the chairman of the executive committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Leandro Zoto, and other invitees.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Superpowers Cloak Aggression With 'Trust'

AU071423 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Dec 87 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "The 'Mutual Trust' of Imperialist Diplomacy"]

[Text] Since Reagan and Gorbachev's noisy meeting at the beginning of this month, a new phrase has become increasingly frequent in the two superpowers' political and diplomatic dictionary—"mutual trust" in international relations. In a recent interview with American news agencies, President Reagan euphorically declared that "Strengthening mutual American-Soviet trust will make the atmosphere of international relations healthier in the future." According to Reagan, this "trust" will continue to remain the principal objective of White House foreign policy. In response to the American fireworks, Gorbachev stressed that "A feature of all Moscow's diplomacy and diplomatic activity is the trust it awakes and the example it gives on the road toward broader understanding among states." In all the great centers of international capital, the spirit of "trust" that Washington and Moscow are promoting for their own political ends is trumpeted as a credo for relations among the imperialist powers.

This is a phenomenon which has its explanation in the present situation, after the signing of the American-Soviet treaty for the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe. The 8 years since the decision to deploy missiles of this kind in the countries of Europe have been marked by increasingly bitter arguments, contradictions, and political quarrels both about the decision itself and about the schedules and quotas involved in its implementation. This has brought in its wake distrust in the relations between the two superpowers and the military and economic blocs they control, such as in the relations between the United States and the NATO member states. Distrust has also marked relations between the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member states. This distrust has grown to such an extent that it has become the rule in imperialist diplomatic morality. Each superpower and imperialist power seeks new ways and means in order to damage the interests of its partners and guarantee its own. Diplomatic statements and overblown declarations on the part of Moscow and Washington have secured nothing for their so-called partners, and the superpowers violated them before the ink was dry. This fate was also suffered by the treaties "against the spread of nuclear tests." The production and perfection of new kinds of nuclear weapons went on, although there was a lot of talk about stopping it. The agreement on the "peaceful use of space" was turned into the opposite of what was announced and publicized. Space weapons and the dangers they pose loom over mankind. To distract attention from such a serious danger the superpowers preach the strengthening of the "mutual trust" which has arrived in our midst, now and in the future, with the elimination of medium-range missiles from Europe. But the many American-Soviet arms treaties were never acted upon, just as we have never seen any reality in either the Atlantic "partnership" or the "unity of the socialist community" within the bosoms of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

As regards the people and sovereign states, the "mutual trust" the Americans and Soviets talk about has a clear political aim. It seeks to arouse distrust in the forces of people who are fighting for freedom and independence, and in those countries who wish to live free from the economic and political tutelage of the superpowers. In trumpeting about "trust," imperialist diplomacy wishes sovereign states and peoples to leave their destinies and great national causes in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union. According to those who direct policy and diplomacy in Moscow and Washington, Europeans can sleep in peace now that disarmament has been put on the right track by the signing of the treaty eliminating medium-range missiles on this continent. The truth is that we can see the arms race taking on fresh impetus after this "historic treaty." Space weapons and the serial production of MX missiles, tests of other nuclear weapons, and the continual modernization of conventional weapons continue to pose a threat to the peace, freedom, and real security of mankind. In this context, trust in the imperialist diplomacy of the two superpowers will mean subjection to their diktat and their aggressive and hegemonistic policies. During his last tour of Western Europe the American secretary of state, George Shultz, reminded the so-called allies that "The leadership of the world belongs to America." This is a statement that displays still more clearly the character and nature of "trust" in American diplomacy and its entire foreign policy. This so-called trust seeks to conceal the aggressiveness of the superpower diplomacy pursued by the United States and the Soviet Union. Moreover, it seeks to create the most suitable basis for devising fresh imperialist conspiracies and skullduggery against peoples and sovereign states.

FRG Envoy Arrives 7 January

AU081240 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Friedrich Kronek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, arrived today in our country.

Leaders' Public Appearances 3-9 January

AU091937 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 3-9 January reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended on 8 January an extended aktiv in the city of Fier, at which labor productivity achievements were examined. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 8 January)

Greece's Papoulias Arrives on Working Visit

AU081518 Sofia BTA in English
1437 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—Mr Karolos Papoulias, Greece's minister of foreign affairs, arrived here today on a friendly working visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr Petur Mladenov.

"I am glad to be once again here with my friends," Mr Papoulias said upon his arrival. He expressed the conviction that his forthcoming talks with the Bulgarian leaders will be constructive and sincere. Greece and Bulgaria hold common and identical views on a number of questions concerning the international situation, the situation in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, the Greek foreign minister said.

At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Mr Petur Mladenov and by other officials.

Begins Talks With Mladenov

AU082021 Sofia BTA in English
1854 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—The ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Greece, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Karolos Papoulias, started talks here today, at which they discussed some topical international issues and issues of their bilateral relations.

The two ministers stressed the great importance of the latest Soviet-American accords as a starting point for further progress in disarmament. They expressed common support for the East-West dialogue on peace, security and cooperation issues, as well as readiness to continue to work in the spirit of new political thinking for strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

They noted the closeness or similarity of their stands on all basic issues.

The talks paid special attention to the forthcoming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, at which a serious step towards strengthening good-neighbourliness and cooperation in Europe can be made, provided all participants show good will.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Karolos Papoulias stressed the positive development of Bulgaro-Greek relations in all fields and the role of the contacts and agreements between the leaders of the two countries. The two foreign ministers discussed ways to further promoting fruitful contacts and interaction between the two neighbouring friendly states.

The talks took place in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

Exchanges Dinner Speeches

AU082025 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—A new step in the vigorous promotion of Bulgaro-Greek relations, a fresh concerted effort to build Balkan and European peace and security: This is how the Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr Petur Mladenov, assessed the talks which he opened here today with Mr Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece. At an official dinner for the guest, the chief Bulgarian diplomat said that for quite some time now, relations between Bulgaria and Greece have been setting an example worthy to be imitated. He pointed out that this is due to the common approach based on the standards of new political thinking.

The Bulgarian foreign minister commended highly the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Bulgaria attaches great importance to the initiatives for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, to the need of ecological protection of the region and to the promotion of good-neighbourly relations, Minister Mladenov said. In spite of some differences in the approaches of the Balkan countries to these issues, it is necessary to do everything possible in order to enhance the positive tendencies in the Balkans and in Europe, Mr Petur Mladenov said.

We, he continued, expect the forthcoming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries to play an important role in this direction and we are working on our active and constructive participation.

Mr Petur Mladenov declared himself in favour of a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus problem and expressed support for the idea put forward by the Soviet Union for convening a representative international conference on the Cyprus issue.

In response the chief Greek diplomat gave a high assessment to bilateral relations. He said that the development of bilateral contacts is in line with the requirements of our times and the innovation underway in international relations. Greece and Bulgaria are maintaining a sincere dialogue, they trust each other and are cooperating peacefully in all spheres, Mr Karolos Papoulias said.

The Greek foreign minister praised the Soviet-American treaty for eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. He said that this remarkable fact is giving us grounds to regard the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states in Belgrade with optimism. Greece will do her best for the success of multilateral cooperation among the Balkan states and for strengthening peace in the region.

Mr Karolos Papoulias condemned the Turkish occupation of Cyprus, which undermines international security and violates human rights.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 8 January notes in its report on the banquet that: "Minister Petur Mladenov gave an dinner in honor of his Greek colleague in the Lozenets Residence in Sofia. The dinner was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, and other officials"—FBIS]

Honored by Zhivkov

AU091927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Excerpts] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov today received Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, who is on a friendly working visit to Bulgaria.

The guest transmitted cordial greetings and good wishes to the chief Bulgarian leader from Khristos Sartzetakis, president of Greece, and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. In his turn, Comrade Todor Zhivkov conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the two Greek leaders. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov took part in the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of Karolos Papoulias, which was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, and other officials.

Gives TV Interview

AU101738 Sofia BTA in English 1716 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Mr Karolos Papoulias,minister of foreign affairs of Greece, who is paying a friendly working visit here, assessed the prospects for Bulgaro-Greek cooperation as "excellent."

In an interview broadcast last night on Bulgarian Television, he indicated that the two countries have done much for the promotion of their cooperation but there were still a lot of untapped opportunities in different areas and they should be utilized. This applied to economic contacts, by which Bulgaria and Greece set great store, to the entry in third countries' markets, to cooperation in communications, tourism and other fields.

Mr Karolos Papoulias emphasized that during his latest talks here, Bulgaria and Greece had reaffirmed the closeness of their positions on the key international issues as well as on the questions concerning the Balkans.

The chief Greek diplomat spoke optimistically about the forthcoming Balkan foreign minister conference in Belgrade. The very fact that, for the first time in history, the Balkan countries' ministers of foreign affairs will sit at one and the same negotiating table, is of essential significance for the future of this region, he said. Mr Karolos Papoulias believes that the existing problems should not dampen the optimism about a change for the better which should be achieved at the Belgrade meeting.

Today Mr Karolos Papoulias completed his visit to Bulgaria.

Ends Visit, Departs 10 Jan

AU102043 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] The friendly and working visit to Bulgaria of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, has ended. On 10 January the Greek guest departed from Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport he was seen off by Comrade Petur Mladenov, deputy ministers of foreign affairs, and other officials.

BTA Assesses Visit

AU111510 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 11 Jan 88

["Bulgaria-Greece: New Encouragement For Cooperation and Good-Neighborly Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA commentator Vecheslav-Tunev)—A contribution to the active development of the friendly relations between Bulgaria and Greece and for the strengthening of the positive tendencies in the international relations in the Balkans, in Europe and world-wide. This is an assessment of the friendly working visit to Bulgaria of Greece's foreign minister, Mr Karolos Papoulias, from January 8 through January 10, 1988, which he made at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr Petur Mladenov.

The first meeting between the two countries' chief diplomats this year was especially useful for its constructive exchange of views on the most topical international issues. It has given a new impetus to the development of the bilateral relations on a wide range of issues of common interest.

Mr Todor Zhivkov's meeting with Mr Papoulias and the 3 days of talks between the two foreign ministers were held in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding which corresponds to the sincere friendship between the two nations and peoples.

In discussing the international situation, the participants in these meetings noted with satisfaction that the positions of Bulgaria and Greece on all important issues in the world coincide or are close. The two countries welcome the Soviet-American deal eliminating the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and express the

conviction that it will open the way for progress in other fields of disarmament on a world scale. Bulgaria and Greece are for the further development of the process of detente which started in Helsinki for strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The participants in the dialogue paid special attention to the situation on the Balkan Peninsula. They reiterated their countries' willingness to develop good relations with all neighboring states and to consolidate the positive processes in the region. Referring to the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states, Mr Mladenov and Mr Papoulias agreed that a serious step forward toward the strengthening of good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans could be made provided there is good will on the part of all participants.

The two ministers emphasized the dynamic development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations in all fields which were further broadened in the spirit of the Sofia Declaration of September 1986. Mr Mladenov and his Greek counterpart agreed again that the Bulgaro-Greek relations can serve as a model of relations between two states of different social order and that they are a major achievement of the two friendly peoples.

The achievements so far, the plans drawn for the future and the shared desire for peace and friendship prove the correctness of the two countries' view that the road toward good-neighborly relations and cooperation, which they have chosen, is the only correct one in the complicated and difficult times we are living in.

Stanishev, BCP Delegation Leaves for Warsaw

AU072051 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Text] A delegation of the BCP Central Committee led by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev departed today for Warsaw at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. It will take part in the third session of the Joint Interparty Commission of the BCP and PZPR.

Received by Jaruzelski

AU082035 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] The party delegation led by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev has returned from Warsaw. At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee it had taken part in the third session of the Joint Interparty Commission of the BCP and PZPR.

Prior to his return, Comrade Dimitur Stanishev was received in Warsaw by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. It was stressed at the meeting that the friendly links between the two parties and countries are developing successfully on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, which is having a beneficial effect on the comprehensive development of relations. Emphasis was placed on the need to utilize new forms of cooperation, in conformity with the present stage.

Dyulgerov Receives Syrian TU Delegation

AU101905 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Mr Petur Dyulgerov, president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, said today that his organization appreciates the Syrian Trade Unions' contribution to the building of the new society and their constructive role in the international trade union movement.

Conferring with Mr 'Izz al-Din Nasir, chairman of Syria's General Federation of Labor Unions, Mr Petur Dyulgerov familiarized him in detail with the radical changes under way in this country's public and economic life, with the novelties in the work of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Mr 'Izz al-Din Nasir spoke about the topical problems facing the Syrian Trade Unions at this stage.

The sides exchanged views on some questions concerning the international trade union movement.

The two organizations reaffirmed their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The trade union leaders condemned the cruel repressions by the occupationists' authorities against the Arab population and the Israeli Army's terrorist actions jeopardizing the security of Lebanon and Syria. Support was expressed for Syria's position in defense of the national liberation cause of the peoples in that part of the world.

Balev Receives Peruvian Party Delegation

AU101721 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy, conferred today with the visiting delegation of the American Revolutionary Popular Aliance (APRA), the ruling party in Peru, led by Mr Armando Villanueva, secretary general of the party and chairman of the Senate International Affairs Committee.

The sides reiterated the urgent need for active interaction of all democratic and progressive forces for ridding mankind of the nuclear threat. In this connection, an emphasis was laid on the historic importance of the Soviet-American Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty as the first tangible step toward strengthening peace and building a world without nuclear weapons. Special attention was paid to the new processes and phenomena in Latin America.

Reciprocal preparedness was expressed for an extension of the fruitful dialogue established between the BCP and APRA during the visit. The sides considered the opportunities and the prospects for the promotion of the relations between the two parties, between senior politicians and parliamentarians, for the expansion of Bulgaro-Peruvian cooperation to the benefit of the friendship between the two peoples.

Protocol Signed

AU092001 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 9 Jan 88

["For More Active Bulgaro-Peruvian Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Today Mr Peter Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), and Mr Armando Villanueva del Campo, secretary general of the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA), the ruling party in Peru, signed a protocol on cooperation between the two parties for the 1988-1990 period.

The document envisages a number of specific practical measures to activate contacts between the BZNS and APRA, to enhance the exchange of information, as well as a number of new forms to widen their interaction in the agrarian sphere and in the progress of science and technology for agriculture. This will have a favourable impact on the further promotion of relations between Bulgaria and Peru.

At the same time, the protocol contains the conviction of the BZNS and APRA that the new realities in the contemporary world require a highly responsible approach more than ever before. It is indicated that, under the circumstances, fresh opportunities open up for cooperation between the BZNS and APRA, for the agrarian and the other democratic parties and organisations to rally behind the platform of new political thinking, peace, understanding and social progress.

Zhivkov Congratulates PCI's Natta on Birthday

AU081551 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, sent the following telegram to Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]:

Esteemed Comrade Natta, on the occasion of your 70th birthday I convey to you, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on my own behalf, most cordial fraternal greetings and wishes for vigorous health, personal happiness, and new successes in your highly responsible activities.

Your life and career as a veteran of the anti-fascist resistance, and as a PCI leader of long standing are well known and respected in our country.

I would like to express confidence that the relations of fraternal friendship and international solidarity between the BCP and the PCI will continue to develop for the benefit of our two peoples, and for the sake of peace and socialism.

BCP CC Message to Argentine CP on Anniversary

AU071016 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 87 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee sent the following telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina:

Dear Comrades: The BCP Central Committee conveys most sincere, comradely congratulations to you on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the fraternal Communist Party of Argentina.

Your long and indefatiguable struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy, and social progress, as well as your firm solidarity with all struggling countries and peoples earned you well-deserved prestige among the progressive forces in Latin America and throughout the world.

On the occasion of your remarkable anniversary we wish you new successes in your noble efforts to continue to enhance the role and influence of the party in the country's sociopolitical life, in consolidating and developing the democratic process, in increasing the contribution of the Communist Party of Argentina to the search for new approaches and new solutions for the complicated national and humanitarian problems facing the Communists under the circumstances of contemporary realities.

We express our confidence that the tested, traditional relations between our two fraternal parties will continue to develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as in the interest of friendship between our two countries and peoples.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet PRK Leaders

AU081509 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 87 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the PRK, and to Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on our own behalf, we convey to the KPRP, Central Committee, to the Council of State, and Council of Ministers of the PRK, and to the fraternal people of Kampuchea, as well as to you, most sincere congratulations and wishes on the occasion of your country's National Day—the ninth anniversary of the proclamation of the PRK.

Throughout the period that has elapsed the people of Kampuchea, under KPRP leadership, achieved considerable successes in the economic, social, and cultural revival of the country.

The PRK plays a positive role in connection with improving the situation in Southeast Asia, transforming this area into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation. The policy of national reconciliation which was launched in August 1987 by the PRK Government plays a great international role.

We point out with satisfaction that Bulgarian-Kampuchean relations are constantly developing and intensifying on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to consolidate its relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with the PRK and will continue to support its policy of peace and security in Southeast Asia.

On the occasion of their National Day we wish all Kampuchean people further successes in building a new society.

State Council Decorates CSSR's Husak

AU092027 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] The State Council has awarded the "13 Centuries of Bulgaria" Order with ribbon to Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, for his contribution to developing and deepening the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and CPCZ, between Bulgaria and the CSSR, and in connection with his 75th birthday.

Preparations Underway for Space Flight

AU081544 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 88 p 2

[Veliana Khristova report: "Our Readiness Is Accounted For Daily"]

[Text] Within a few months only the second Bulgarian-Soviet space flight will take place. Experiments were performed and equipment was developed within the framework of the Shipka project throughout the 1987 period. Some of the instruments have already passed a strict test at the Mir Space Center, and cosmonauts from both crews, who were already approved, are testing the equipment, while further stages of acceptance, handover tests, and the presenting of training models are still expected.

Now the teams and collectives working on the Shipka project are facing several months of intensive, creative work. Our country's readiness for the second space flight is accounted for daily and not by months. In view of this the leaders of the Institute on Space Research at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the experts and scientists who are working on the space project, met with representatives of the mass media. Models of all instruments which are envisaged to be used in the four scientific areas of the project—namely space physics, space materiology [materialoznanie], space biology and medicine, as well as long-range [distantsionno] research of the earth—were presented. Leaders of creative teams and collectives described, in detail, the essence, the technical parameters, and the tasks of each instrument, as well as the stage of its applicability for practical use. The original Bulgarian scientific elaborations distinguish themselves by their precision and reliability, and by the extensive possibilities of their application in the national economic sector. Many of them will represent innovations in space sciences and will also be used in further flights. They will be delivered to the USSR within the forthcoming weeks.

Journalists were acquainted with the symbols of the forthcoming flight as well—such as emblems, badges, buttons, and others.

Politburo Recommendations for 1988

AU071940 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The Politburo of the BCP CC discussed certain measures for the bringing in line of social practice with the new objective conditions and the new approaches stemming from the July and November Plenums of the BCP CC and Mr Todor Zhivkov's speech at the national meeting of December 1987.

It was noted that a process of in-depth social change is under way, that a new economic and political climate is being formed. A positive assessment was given to the preparation for the transition of the national economy to the principles of self-management. There are good economic and organizational conditions to fulfill this aim.

There are now quite real opportunities for implementing the decisions of the 13th Congress of the party for qualitative growth in all fields of society. 1988 is a year which marks the start of a stage of practical restructuring of the economy. The entry into this stage has already been legislatively guaranteed. The new plan envisages high growth rates. There is now a new situation linked with the action of the economic regulators, with the

transference of the socialist property to the workers' teams for management, and with the enhancement of the producers' role in the process of self-management.

The Politburo emphasizes that the main task for the state and economic organizations, for the bodies of self-management, is to complete as soon as possible the drawing up of the plans for the new economic year and to guarantee their normal fulfilment week by week and month by month. Greater attention must be paid to the development and fulfilment of the enterprises' tasks related to their currency earnings.

The economic regulators (the new wages system, the new wholesale prices, taxes, credits and insurance) are of vital significance for the restructuring of the national economy.

The regulation of economic activity, the regulations, and tariffs create the conditions for the broadening of the processes of self-management. Concrete measures and actions are now needed for their practical and comprehensive application.

The transference of the socialist property to the workers' teams for management is a process of great social, economic and political importance. The work done up to now should be reexamined carefully in order to carry out this process, which brings about great changes in the socialist production relations, reads the decision of the Politburo of the BCP CC.

It is pointed out in the decision that in the near future the condition, technical level and the degree of wear of machines, equipment and buildings must be specified; the obligations of the enterprises toward the state and the banks must be analysed. New programmes will be developed for the improvement of production and economic activity, for an increase in the production capacities and for improvement of the forms of organization and management of the production.

The necessary preparation must be carried out and terms be set for consecutive application of the self-accounting and piecework system. The concrete rights, responsibilities and obligations of the workteams must be specified. A group of experts will make an all-round analysis and will provide expert opinion for the readiness to transfer the property to the workteams. [sentence as received]

The decision of the BCP CC Politburo reads that in the sphere of agriculture of decisive importance for the achievement of a qualitatively new stage is the turning of workteams into basic production entities and the restructuring of agro-industrial complexes into economic associations of the workteams.

The restructuring of the entire sociopolitical life imposes considerable qualitative changes on the ideological and educational work.

Premier Atanasov Tours Botevgrad, Pravets
AU061915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 87

[Text] In Botevgrad and Pravets Municipalities such sectors of importance for our national economy as electronics and microelectronics, bus construction, the chemical industry, and production of microbiological preparations, are developing at fast rates.

Today Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, was acquainted with the great technical and technological renewal accomplished by the main combines in Botevgrad and Pravets in order to implement the qualitatively new tasks set by the July and November Plenums of the BCP Central Committee. Accompanied by Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of Sofia Oblast BCP Committee, and Atanas Konstantinov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Sofia Oblast People's Council, Comrade Georgi Atanasov visited industrial enterprises in Botevgrad and Pravets.

High criteria, drive, and perseverance are needed to solve the tasks under self-management conditions, stressed Comrade Georgi Atanasov at his meeting with the bureaus of the municipal party committees in Botevgrad and Pravets, and with the leaderships of the combines and trusts that have their centers in the two towns.

Correspondent Views SFRY Economic Crisis
AU071258 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT Belgrade correspondent: "In Search of a New Compromise Solution"]

[Text] In the last hours of 1987 something quite unexpected happened in Yugoslavia. It was the first time in this country's postwar history that New Year was celebrated without the SFRY Assembly having previously adopted the economic plan and budget for 1988.

This delicate situation was reached after prolonged debates in the SFRY Assembly, where different interests and controversial points of view emerged among the six republics and the two autonomous provinces. As FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric admitted, the situation is "complicated and alarming." The financing of certain basic sectors and branches is under question. In his opinion, the only way out is to introduce provisional measures that should at least apply to the period up to the end of January 1988.

The republics and autonomous provinces submitted considerable objections to the draft plan and budget proposed by the government. The delegation of the SR of Slovenia has long since opposed the government policy, insisting that it should obtain optimal advantages in the preparations of the so-called currency law. It is known that Slovenia ranks number one on the Yugoslav exports

lists, and this serves as an argument for the republic to defend its own interests by requesting a greater share in the distribution of currency means. The chief disagreement of the Slovenian delegation was provoked by the government plan which was considered unrealistic. In the last hours of 1987 it was announced that the stand of the SR of Slovenia on this point remained unchanged, which put an end to the hope that a compromise solution may be reached in spite of everything.

The reservations of the other republics and of the two autonomous provinces as regards the controversial government proposals envisaging an increase in their contributions to the federal fund are just as significant. As regards certain aspects of the question, the SR of Croatia is in solidarity with Slovenia's claims, by emphasizing the necessity of incentives for the ship-building industry and tourism. The delegation of the SR of Serbia stressed the importance of the power supply industry, while the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina proposes new solutions for agriculture. With no less justification the delegates from the SR of Macedonia, Montenegro, and from Bosnia and Hercegovina raise the question of the difficult situation in their economic structure, where the number of deficit enterprises is increasing. The situation in Kosovo is perhaps even more alarming since, despite numerous investments and subsidies, the economic indexes indicate that this area is one of the most backward in the SFRY.

In a New Year's interview for Ljubljana television Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, declared that the controversies about economic policy in 1988 should not be dramatized. According to him, the difficulties in the SFRY Assembly are not caused by conflicts among the different republics, but by conflicts between the developed areas of the country, which presently bear the burden of economic stabilization, and the less developed areas. Nevertheless, there are other opinions as well, emphasizing that the federal units not only disagree with the SFRY Government, but are opposed to each other, as well.

The present situation in the SFRY Assembly provoked the reaction of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. It made critical remarks about the leaders of the republics and autonomous provinces for their insufficient sense of responsibility as regards Yugoslavia-wide interests. It is pointed out that all Communists are requested to devote optimal efforts so that unanimity and mutual understanding may be achieved in adopting the 1988 budget and plan.

Economic Report for 19 Dec-2 Jan

AU021920 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 19 December 1987 though 2 January 1988 carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of each newscast is given in parentheses):

Ruse: Shipbuilders of the Ivan Dimitrov Yard launched a new 3000-tonne vessel on 22 December. This is one of a series being produced for Sudoimport in the USSR. The ship is fitted out with the latest automated electronic equipment for navigation and control of the vessel and special equipment for preventing marine oil pollution, and is graded as "A-1" (1830 GMT 22 December). Stara Zagora: A new 200-megawatt power transformer was been put into service on 30 December. The transformer is connected to a new 220 kilovolt power line from the "Maritsa-Iztok 2" Thermoelectric Power Plant that will ensure stable electricity supplies to the city. Most of the new equipment is already operating at design capacity (1000 GMT 30 December).

Maritsa-Iztok Energy-Economic Trust: The trust fulfilled its electric power production plan for 1987 on 29 December, having produced a total of 11,620 million kilowatt-hours of electricity. Before the year's end it is expected that approximately 70 million more kilowatt-hours of electricity will be further produced (1000 GMT 29 December).

Gorubso-Madan Technological Mining and Ore Concentration Combine: the combine also fulfilled its annual production plan on 29 December; during the year technological renewal was completed, producing an economic effect of 1,550,000 leva (1000 GMT 29 December).

Leaders Public Appearances 3-9 Jan

AU092129 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 3-9 January monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and Nacho Papazov attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 5 January to mark the 110th anniversary of the birth of Khristo Kabakchiev, a founder member of the BCP, at which Petur Dyulgerov delivered a commemorative address. (Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 5 Jan 88)

Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, and Andrey Lukanov attended a luncheon given by Todor Zhivkov in Sofia on 9 January in honor of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 88) Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, held a traditional New Year meeting with the diplomatic corps in Sofia on 4 January. (Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 4 Jan 88) He received Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in Sofia on 9 January (Sofia BTA in English 1253 GMT 9 Jan 88)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, toured the towns of Botevgrad and Pravets on 6 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 88)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 7 January to mark the 30th anniversary of the formation of the Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 88)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, met Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister of Greece, on his arrival at Sofia Airport on 8 January on an official visit. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1437 GMT 8 Jan 88) In Sofia on the same day he started talks with Papoulias (Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 8 Jan 88) and gave a dinner that evening for his Greek colleague. (Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 9 Jan 88)

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, received a visiting Peruvian party delegation in Sofia on 5 January. (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 5 Jan 88) In Sofia on 6 January he attended a festive meeting in the Georgi Kirkov Hall to mark the 140th anniversary of the birth of Khristo Botev. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 88)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, also attended the Botev anniversary meeting in Sofia on 6 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 88)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, left for Warsaw on 7 January at the head of a BCP Central Committee delegation (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 88)In Warsaw on 8 January he was received by Jaruzelski (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 88) at the end of his delegation's talks on 7 and 8 January with a PZPR delegation led by Jozef Czyrek. (Sofia BTA in English 1329 GMT 9 Jan 88)

Jakes Departs on Official Visit to USSR

LD110822 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left Prague for Moscow today on a working visit to the Soviet Union. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

At Ruzyna Airport the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary was seen off by Vasil Bilak and Karel Hoffmann, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Mikolas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Federal Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar.

Shortly before 0800 the special aircraft left for Moscow.

Arrives in Moscow 11 Jan

LD111117 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Moscow today for a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was welcomed at the airport by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other party officials. Jindrich Rehorek, the Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, were also present.

When flying over the territory of the Polish People's Republic Comrade Milos Jakes sent a telegram from the aircraft to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. It said: I am using this opportunity to send to the fraternal PZPR, to the Polish people, and to you personally heartfelt wishes of many successes in the socialist construction of your homeland and the efforts to secure enduring peace in the world.

RUDE PRAVO Considers Jan 1968 CPCZ CC Plenum

AU071411 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 88 p 3

[Ladislav Skalicky article: "Examining the CPCZ Central Committee Session of 20 Years Ago; January and Today"—passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **Twenty years ago, at the beginning of January 1968, an important session of the CPCZ Central Committee was held. Its task was to resolve a number of issues that had come to fruition related to the social development at that time, and which had already been put forward at the session of the CPCZ Central Committee in November and December 1967. The common denominator of this effort was to strengthen the party's leading position and authority in society, develop socialist democracy, and further strengthen socialism in our fatherland.**

The January 1968 CPCZ Central Committee session is an event which, even years afterwards, deserves attention and examination. It is, however, a considerably contradictory event. On the one hand, the session put forward a positive program for further socialist development. Proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and defending the need for the continuity of socialist construction, members of the Central Committee tried to find answers to topical questions, consistently eliminate shortcomings and mistakes of the past, and mobilize the whole of the party and society in the interest of strengthening socialism.

On the other hand, a right-wing opportunist group was already forming at the January session and, as subsequent developments showed, under the mantle of "rectifying errors," this group launched an attack on the Communist Party, the political system of socialism, and the Soviet Union. For many people, therefore, the results of the January 1968 CPCZ Central Committee session are to this day the source of the view that "January was not necessary," because it led to a crisis in the party and society.

January—by which we mean symbolically precisely the objectively positive results of the January 1968 CPCZ Central Committee session—did not, however, come into being by itself, by coincidence, or as a result of the will of counterrevolutionary forces that were hostile to socialism. On the contrary, it was the result of the finding that the then state of the party and society, and the interest of the further successful development of socialism in our fatherland required changes that would open up scope for the creative assertion of Marxist-Leninist teaching, that would consolidate and multiply the strength of socialism. The majority of party members and all honest people in our society expected and wanted such a development.

Therefore, it would not be right to overlook either the causes or the consequences of January. Only from a comprehensive viewpoint is it possible to understand what was crucial in the entire complex and contradictory development at that time—the importance of the Communist Party, the prerequisite of the successful implementation of its leading role, and the things that constituted for the party and the development of the whole society a timely and detailed Marxist analysis of the situation in the party, the country, and international relations.

Only from a comprehensive viewpoint is it possible to understand what damage might produce a lack of political principles, petty bourgeois opportunism, subjectivism, and voluntarism of all kinds and to understand how closely related dogmatism and opportunism are as extreme phenomena acting as parasites on the socialist

movement. The two contradictory and yet mutually influencing extremes prevent the development of revolutionary efforts or even endanger the results that have been achieved.

Only from a comprehensive viewpoint is it possible also to understand how profoundly the influence of personal qualities, the degree of theoretical and practical preparedness and maturity of individual figures who are heading the movement at a given time can be projected into political affairs.

Causes of Increasing Crisis Phenomena [subhead]

In the sixties, the development of socialism in our country called for an improvement in the methods of implementing the leading role of the Communist Party, and ensuring that the party, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working people, sought and asserted new ways for society's development while sensitively respecting the interests of individual classes and strata, nations and nationalities.

However, the party leadership headed by Comrade Antonin Novotny did not cope with the demanding tasks of the time. It did not proceed from a creative implementation of Marxist-Leninist theory, from an analysis of society's objective needs. It postponed the solution of serious problems, adopting inconsistent, half-hearted measures. It reacted to the increasing justified criticism with irritation and rejected it. It ignored the need for a constant development of socialist democracy. The errors which gradually accumulated caused stagnation in the development of society, and phenomena of crisis began to increase in various spheres of the country's life.

The inability to correctly harmonize revolutionary perspectives with the given level of social development and to work out a scientifically substantiated concept led to the proclamation of various unrealistic slogans. One could hear and read such slogans as: "Already Our Generation Will Live Under Communism"; "Solving the Housing Problem by 1980"; "Let Us Fulfill the Third 5-Year Plan in 4 Years"; "Agriculture to the Level of Industry." The proclamation of such slogans discredited the party in the eyes of the public, and undermined its links with the working people and their faith in its policy.

Social development was idealized and illusions about overcoming all antagonist contradictions within our society were developed, as though the class struggle no longer had any place in our country as a result of the classes and strata drawing closer together and only applied on the international scale. This disarmed the party politically and ideologically. Among the consequences of this was that ideological work and active educational influence on party members and other working people were weakened, education in proletarian internationalism was underestimated, and ideological work had a negligible influence among the intelligentsia. The scope for the spreading of bourgeois or petty bourgeois views and for the ideological influence of imperialism gradually grew wider.

The administratively bureaucratic methods of the party leadership and, at the same time, its standpoints lacking principle gradually prepared the ground for the activities of right-wing forces, especially in the ideological and cultural spheres and in the media, in which areas these forces had gained considerable influence even before January 1968.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in the party realized the gravity of the situation and demanded that it be put right. But the party leadership, in which there were differences of opinion, was not able to grasp the healthy current that was emerging in the party and channel it in such a way as to make it the catalyst of socialist progress. The political course was mainly determined, by the then first secretary of the party Central Committee. As has already been said several times, Comrade A. Novotny did not have a sufficient sense of conceptual work. He was unable to differentiate between well-meant criticism and right-wingers' attacks. He weakened the effect of many measures by inconsistency or one-sided interpretation, and so forth. One of his serious shortcomings was to underestimate the nationality issue and his simplistic view on the creation of the unity of our nations and nationalities. Therefore, the effort to find a solution ultimately concentrated on his departure from the leading position in the party.

Effort To Find a Solution [subhead]

The differences in the party leadership that had previously been concealed came to light at the November and December CPCZ Central Committee session in 1967. Members of the CPCZ Central Committee demanded a fundamental change in the work of the party and the methods of implementing its leading role in such a way as to make them correspond to the level of development of the socialist society, to respect the impact of the scientific-technical revolution, and create wide scope for social activity and initiative. This is what the concrete proposals and themes submitted at the CPCZ Central Committee session aimed at.

However, at that time the justified criticism of shortcomings in the party's work and its leadership began to be intermingled with manifestations of right-wing opportunism and revisionism.

The CPCZ Central Committee session of 19-21 December 1967, on the basis of Comrade Jozef Lenart's report, discussed problems related to economic policy and the standard of living in the 1968-70 period, and it adopted a resolution which was published in RUDE PRAVO on 23 December 1967.

Comrade Antonin Novotny's report dealt with issues concerning management and a new system of relations in central agencies and the improvement of these relations in line with the new system of management of the national economy. However, the proposal that was submitted was not approved because it showed inadequate analysis and superficiality, and it was returned for fine-tuning.

The attention of the December session concentrated, above all, on the work of the party, the implementation of its leading role in society, and in this connection the activity of the Central Committee and its agencies in particular. The very general nature of the documents submitted by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and the concern caused by the general situation in the party elicited an extensive discussion about party work. It was not possible to conclude this discussion at the December meeting and it was carried over to the CPCZ Central Committee session held on 3-5 January 1968. The focal point of this discussion was the activity of the Central Committee and its agencies, and the accumulation of positions by the president of the Republic and first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The demand was voiced that Comrade A. Novotny resign from the highest position in the party.

Still in December, the Central Committee elected from among its members a consultative group made up of representatives of regions, which—together with the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium—had to prepare a proposal for the January session which would address the problem of the accumulation of the highest party and state positions, the principles of the style of work of leading agencies and relations among them and, possibly, an alternative proposal for the person of the first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The interruption of the December deliberations without concrete conclusions, their postponement, and the intransigence with which Comrade A. Novotny defended his standpoints, concentrated attention above all on the solution of the issue of the party leadership. In a 6-day extensive, frank, and often contradictory discussion it was shown that Comrade A. Novotny did not have the support of the majority of the Central Committee. On this basis he was released from the function of First Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee at the end of the January CPCZ Central Committee session. Alexandr Dubcek was then elected to that post. His candidacy, which was the result of a compromise, was influenced by relations in the party leadership at that time, and was an effort to achieve unity in the election.

Lack of Information, Helplessness, Lack of a Program Played Into the Hands of the Right Wing [subhead]

The January CPCZ Central Committee session adopted a political resolution in which it expressed programmatic principles for the work of the party in the following period. **The resolution stressed Czechoslovakia's adherence to the world socialist system and its firm unity with the Soviet Union. It underscored the necessity of deepening the party's unity, strengthening its leading role, and observing Leninist norms of party work. It oriented the party toward urgently solving the tasks of developing the national economy, consistently eliminating errors and shortcomings, developing socialist democracy further, and strengthening the ties between Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of the Leninist principles of the nationality policy.**

The importance of the January CPCZ Central Committee session is summarized in the "Lesson From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," which the party Central Committee unanimously approved in December 1970. It contains a composite picture of the fateful development of that time. The correctness of the document's conclusions was fully affirmed by developments, and they are topical and valid even today. The "Lesson" says the following about the January CPCZ Central Committee session: **"In terms of their fundamental importance, the results of the January plenum were the expression of the need to resolve the crisis that had come to fruition in the CPCZ, and to eliminate from the party's activity and especially from its leadership, everything that prevented the party and society from raising themselves to a new activity, to new upsurge. This concerned, above all, the consistent implementation of Leninist principles in the management of the party and society, and the necessity to react in time to all the new phenomena emerging in all spheres of social life. The absolute majority of the party and our people received the results of the January plenum in this spirit."**

Thus, the document of the "Lesson" unequivocally stresses the view that "January was necessary." This conclusion cannot be affected by the fact that the results of the January CPCZ Central Committee session were in many respects contradictory, that the leadership which was entrusted with the implementation of the January program was not homogenous, and was politically disunited and weak.

And not only that. A situation was gradually being created in which the foundations of socialism became endangered as a consequence of the fact that a right-wing revisionist group formed itself directly in the party leadership which, under the mantle of demagogic slogans, strove to revise the party's general line, to disrupt the political structure of the socialist society and benefit petty bourgeois haphazardness, and to change the CSSR's political orientation. In this way it opened up scope for the activity of antisocialist forces.

Great responsibility for this development of events is borne by A. Dubcek personally, who initially made unprincipled concessions to the right-wing forces, and who later—owing to his lack of principled and his capitulationist attitude—became their standard bearer [zastava].

Something particularly serious was that in the given concrete situation—on the basis of the January session's resolution—a concrete course was not worked out which would correspond to the new conditions, which would link up with the achieved results and, on the basis of a profound analysis of conditions, would set clear objectives for the further development of society in individual spheres, in the economy, the social sphere, culture, and so forth. The Program of Action adopted at the April 1968 CPCZ Central Committee session could not satisfy that demand. Although it reflected an attempt to provide a programmatic framework for the post-January development in the party and society in the theoretical, political, and organizational spheres it contained some non-Marxist formulations. However, in the spring of 1968 this program did not suit the rightwing, which no longer needed it to escalate its power objectives and, in its destructive activity, regarded it as inadequate.

A momentous thing which played a negative role in further developments was that the resolution of the January session was not published (it was published for the first time in TRIBUNA in 1969!), that the party and the public were not informed on time and in detail about the course of the Central Committee's January session. This enabled the right-wing forces to disseminate their own interpretation of events. The information, which was sent to primary organizations only in March 1968, could no longer influence the course of events, and even less the willful interpretation of what the right wing was passing off as the "Program of January."

Dismantling Socialism [subhead]

The right-wing revisionist group, whose most militant chieftains in the CPCZ Central Committee, in particular, were O. Sik, F. Kriegel, J. Spacek, V. Slavik, J. Smrkovsky, F. Vodslon, V. Boruvka, V. Prchlik, C. Cisar, and others, launched after the January session a power struggle in the party and society, to which it misused the majority of information media, especially television and radio, some central dailies and periodicals, in which it already held important positions, and out of which it made the main weapons for attacks on the party and the socialist state.

In their public appearances and in information media, the spokesmen of the right wing were camouflaging themselves with demagogic slogans, such as "socialism with human face," "democratic socialism," and the like. They were passing themselves off as "progressivists," and opprobriously calling their opponents—loyal proponents of socialism—"conservatives," and in the end began slandering them as "traitors to the fatherland." **They were passing off a retreat from socialism, its factual dismantling, as the "revival" of socialism, and a "new model" of socialism."** In this way they succeeded in confusing a number of honest people, disorienting a considerable part of the public, which believed their false slogans. Even psychological terror was launched against many honest people.

In this unleashed anticommunist, nationalist, and anti-Soviet hysteria, the Marxist-Leninist forces were thereby deprived of their ability to put up an effective resistance.

The power agencies of the socialist state—security, justice, the Army—were being gradually paralyzed, a matter that was being fully exploited by the enemies of the socialist system at home and abroad. The right-wing-opportunist forces even got the National Front and a number of its organizations under their influence.

Under various demagogical slogans conditions were being created for the renewal of political structures, such as the agrarian party in the Czech Lands and the clerical-fascist party in Slovakia, and also new reactionary political organizations were being formed, such as the so-called KAN (Club of Committed Persons Without Party Affiliation) and K 231 (club of persons sentenced for disruption of the Republic), affiliating aggressive anti-communists, whose immediate objective, as they openly proclaimed, was the **revenge for February 1948**, a return not only to the conditions that prevailed before 1948, but actually before Munich, the restoration of the bourgeois-democratic system. Slogans were proclaimed, such as "Trade Unions Without Communists," "Neutrality," leaving the Warsaw Pact was demanded as well as privatization of nationalized industry, an anticommunist and anti-Soviet atmosphere was being kindled by means of misusing the information media, and even official quarters embarked on a course aimed at severing ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Thus, right-wing revisionists from the ranks of officials of the ruling party united with obviously counterrevolutionary-minded strata from the ranks of former petty bourgeoisie, especially with those who did not intend to reconcile themselves to revolutionary measures that deprived them of private ownership of the means of production and political positions. Right-wing-opportunist and antisocialist forces established a political bloc. Although its individual components differed regarding ideology and tactics, they nevertheless were one regarding the essence of their intentions against the Marxist-Leninist party, socialism, and the Soviet Union. That is why this bloc met with political, moral, and material support of international imperialism, which thus got an opportunity to realize in the CSSR objectives which—in the spirit of its global strategy—it was for a long time working out against the entire socialist community.

Just like the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, these forces calculated that, should their plans run up against resistance, they would unleash not only moral terror against citizens dedicated to the cause of socialism, which they were doing already, but also physical terror. Vaclav Cerny, one of the spiritual leaders of the antisocialist forces, became famous with his cynical remark that "well, so it will all end up with [communists hanging on] street-lamps," with murders in the manner of the

Hungarian counterrevolution. At the same time he was washing his hands in advance by declaring that the slaying of people would be left to the mob....

In the summer of 1968 Czechoslovakia found itself on the threshold of counterrevolution. Political forces capable of facing up to it were in a state of fragmentation. However, the international assistance rendered by five socialist countries in August 1968 thwarted the plans of right-wing and antisocialist forces and established favorable conditions making it possible to restore the structures of the political system of socialism, socialist legality and order, and to return to the country the tranquility necessary for the further development of material and cultural values.

Our Program—Restructuring and the Further Development of Socialism [subhead]

We are recalling the events of 20 years ago under completely new historical conditions. Our country has travelled a considerable distance since the time when the party and society succeeded in leaving behind the period of crisis. Development has established new conditions, which are confronting the party and society with new tasks in the interest of the further development of socialism. The recent seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee has adopted a comprehensive program of such changes.

The basis of these social transformations, which are spearheaded by the Communist Party, is provided by the economic reform, the implementation of changes of principle in the management system, the deepening of socialist democracy, the transition from predominantly administrative to predominantly economic methods of management, and the elimination of deep-rooted and obsolete practices and stereotypes of thinking and doing things that are tributary to the extensive method of management. In these efforts we rightly identify with everything positive connected with the experiences of our party and society, including the momentous lessons from the events of 20 years ago. These lessons concern the party's obligation **to creatively promote and apply Marxist-Leninist theory, to respond in due course and in a principled fashion to the requirements of development, to continuously strengthen the party's ties with the people, to develop socialism, and deepen socialist democracy.**

In connection with the events that we recall here, our ideological and class adversary is spreading the assertion that what the right-wing opportunists and revisionists had sought in Czechoslovakia in 1988 [as published] is allegedly identical with restructuring in the Soviet Union, with the efforts of the CPSU after its 27th congress. This is a crude, impertinent, and transparent lie. The leaders of the Czechoslovak right were out to dismantle socialism, seeking a development that cannot be described more aptly than as **counterrevolutionary.** The program of restructuring in the Soviet Union, just as in our country and in other socialist countries, is a **program of the development of socialism and socialist democracy.**

The attempts of the political castaways of 1968 to take parasitical advantage of restructuring, to become politically active, and to rehabilitate themselves are a manifestation of a crudely distorted concept of restructuring and an attempt to follow up on the policy that suffered a crushing defeat 20 years ago.

Speaking at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stated quite unequivocally that the hopes for the rehabilitation [rehabilitace] of this policy are unfounded. **"In expanding the existing and seeking new roads of democratization of society and self-management, we stand firmly on the soil of socialist principles,"** he stressed.

"We proceed from the basic generally valid principles of socialism: the social ownership of production assets, the plan-based development of the economy, distribution according to work performance, the need for working people's wide-ranging participation in management, and the leading role of the workers class and its vanguard—the Communist Party," **Comrade Milos Jakes declared. "It is precisely these principles that came under the fire of right-wing opportunists and revisionists in the year 1968. We do not doubt that even today our adversaries would dearly want the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the entire life of society to result in a retreat from the basic principles of socialism. However, they will not live to see this happen. In the years of crisis 1968-69 we were able to convince ourselves vividly where retreat from the class positions of Marxism-Leninism leads and we have drawn a lesson from this."**

Opposition Group Issues Statement on 1968

PM071446 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 3-4 Jan 88 p 14

[Statement signed "for Czechoslovak socialist opposition group 'Listy' by Zdenek Hejzlar, Zdenek Mlynar, Adolf Mueller, and Jiri Pelikan: "Prague: Healing the Trauma of 1968"]

[Text] It was 20 years ago that Czechoslovakia attempted a radical reform of its economic and political system promoted by the new CPCZ leadership, of which Aleksandr Dubcek became the symbol. At that time the reform policy proceeded from the belief that since 1948 the CPCZ had wrongly identified socialist building with the adoption of the political and economic system established by Stalin in the USSR under completely different conditions.

The aim of the Czechoslovak reform was to gradually reform the political and economic system so as to meet a conception of democracy and socialism fully supported

by the majority of Czechs and Slovaks. It was a process of regeneration of socialism that was supposed to result in the unification of social justice, political freedom, and national and state sovereignty. The very tradition of struggles for the unification of these values is extraordinarily strong in the history of the Czechoslovak peoples, as is the effort to be part of the tradition of European civilization and culture from which regenerated socialism in Czechoslovakia was supposed to proceed. From the economic angle it was a matter of ensuring the intensive and dynamic development of an economically, socially, and culturally evolved country already in the phase of pre-socialist development.

However, the reactionary and antidemocratic forces of all the Soviet bloc countries saw in this process a threat to their positions, and the USSR's political leadership, headed by Brezhnev, decided to stifle the "Prague Spring" with the August 1968 military intervention. This was a violation not only of the explicit principles governing relations between the socialist states but even the most basic rules of international law.

The Czechs' and Slovaks' nonviolent political resistance eventually forced the authors of the intervention to negotiate with the Czechoslovak reformers, who had been deported beyond the state borders and were due to be charged with "counterrevolutionary crimes." This was linked, however, to the acceptance by the CPCZ leadership of the time of political conditions that signified the beginning of the surrender of the reform policy. Moscow's systematic pressure and direct support for the forces opposed to reform led to its complete defeat within a few months.

The new CPCZ leadership, represented symbolically primarily by Gustav Husak and Vasil Bilak, was able to guarantee its position by means of an extraordinarily extensive purge within the party in which one-third of members were expelled. At the same time the majority of the expellees were also excluded from public life—not only in politics but also in science, culture, and a number of professions. Instead of a regeneration of socialism, there began the so-called "normalization of the situation," that is, the forcible restoration of the old and discredited system, which began to describe itself as "real socialism."

Almost 20 years of "normalizing policy" in Czechoslovakia have considerably weakened people's sense of shared responsibility for the state of society, their willingness to commit themselves and take risks for the sake of changes for the better, their desire and even ability to oppose wrongs and injustice, and their desire to think and act critically and openly.

Since 1968, therefore, not only has socialism been discredited but there has been a serious destruction of values that have played a very major role in Czechoslovak history and that placed Czechoslovakia among the most highly evolved countries within the European cultural tradition.

A Not Entirely Silenced Voice [subhead]

This is why there is such extraordinary significance in every act—whether by individual citizens or by small groups—that shows that people have not allowed themselves to be overcome by the general decay of the "normalization," that they still feel shared responsibility as citizens for the state of society, and that they are willing to take risks and endure hardships, discrimination, and sometimes even imprisonment in order to improve the situation. It is thanks to Charter 77, VONS [Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted], and the various activities of individuals and independent groups in various spheres of life that the voice of this sector of Czechoslovak society has never been entirely silenced. We have always displayed, and will continue to display, solidarity with the endeavors of these movements and initiatives and consider it our duty to help them from abroad. Our help is designed to ensure their opportunity to publish and to maintain contacts with similar movements abroad and we seek for them the support and understanding of the western public.

However, the long years of struggle—often absolutely desperate—by this sector of Czechoslovak society against the authoritarian machine of "normalization" have shown at the same time that a decisive change in the situation cannot be achieved in isolation, solely by the critical forces within Czechoslovakia. Just as Czechoslovakia found itself in a position of dependence in 1948 and again in 1968, primarily under the pressure of particular international factors, it is essential to achieve a change in these same factors also for the sake of a real solution to the present situation. In this very regard the situation now is considerably more promising than at any time during the past 20 years.

The reactionary forces that violently stifled the "Prague Spring" brought about through their policy a situation of crisis not only in Czechoslovakia but first and foremost in the USSR itself. The new Soviet leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev is now seeking a way out through a radical reform of the Stalinist-type system. The two basic specific tasks set by the CPCZ's reform policy in 1968—to ensure the intensive growth of the economy and to democratize the political system—are now on the agenda in the USSR.

Under the conditions in the USSR, Gorbachev's reform policy is probably the only really possible start to a long-term evolutionary process that can eventually lead to a union between socialism and political democracy. Therefore we too support this policy, though such a union is far from having been achieved and the Soviet leadership has moreover adopted no critical stance with regard to the August 1968 military intervention and its lamentable consequences.

Of course, not even the reform process initiated in the USSR will resolve the crisis in Czechoslovakia. It can only improve the conditions under which the domestic

political forces operate, and it is their responsible action alone that can then change the Czechoslovak situation. We believe that for Czechoslovakia's evolutionary process too it would be an ideal condition if the endeavor "from below" to ensure changes could combine with a desire for reforms "from the top," as was possible 20 years ago and as is partly beginning to be so in the USSR.

New Policy in USSR [subhead]

For the present, however, such a situation does not exist in Czechoslovakia since here there has not yet occurred that which made the new policy possible on the USSR—personnel changes at the very top levels of political leadership. The separation of the supreme party and state posts in December 1987 was indeed a step in the right direction but the people who occupy these posts are showing that it is desired to impose on Czechoslovak society, as guarantors of the "new way of thinking", the same people who 20 years ago represented an obsolete way of thinking and acted completely at odds with reform.

However, not even after further changes can there be a simple repetition of 1968 in Czechoslovakia. In the 20 years since then both Czechoslovak society and the CPCZ have changed considerably. Many of the opinions and motivations and much of the confidence of that time now no longer act as a sociopolitical force. After 20 years the "Prague Spring" is part of history. Nevertheless it is a past that has a great deal to tell the present, since many of the present unresolved difficulties are similar to those of that time. A political leadership which, under Czechoslovak conditions, really wanted to initiate a "restructuring" similar to that being carried out by Gorbachev in the USSR, would have to heal the trauma of 1968. We believe that the minimum essentials to this end are as follows:

1—To release all political prisoners and end police and other persecution of citizens for their political opinions and related activities and for their religious beliefs and activities;

2—To permit free information on the events of 1968, that is, to give everyone the opportunity to acquaint themselves not only with the political documents of the time but also with the currents of thought that led to the attempt at change in 1968 and that are at present kept hidden as "revisionist" or even "counterrevolutionary";

3—To abolish both discriminations and preferences based on the political stances held by someone 20 years ago. It will be necessary, first, to abolish the measures that prohibit the conduct of various professions for political reasons and to remedy the wrongs suffered by the offspring of parents who have been the victims of political discrimination. To consistently eliminate the practice whereby leadership functions can be performed only on the basis of political "merits" attained through the stifling of the 1968 reform policy. Every citizen's success at work must be consistently guaranteed in accordance with his skills, qualifications, performance, and sense of responsibility toward his work.

4—To secure the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Czechoslovakia, to abolish the accords resulting from the 1968 military intervention, and to publish Czechoslovakia's specific commitments stemming from its Warsaw Pact membership with regard to the possible deployment of foreign armies. To take foreign policy initiatives aimed at demilitarization, especially in central Europe.

Following these minimal steps, we believe a gradual reform process could begin in Czechoslovakia too, after a 20 year lull. Exactly like 20 years ago, however, the conditions, needs, and traditions in Czechoslovak society are still different from the USSR's. Unless the continued devastation of political culture is desired in Czechoslovakia, the reform of the political system is inconceivable without the institutional guarantees of a pluralistic political democracy, which we consider feasible on a non-capitalist, socialist economic and social basis.

The socialist character of the Czechoslovak system presupposes that it is necessary always to allow a specific public and democratic discussion precisely of the conception of socialism itself, that is, to ensure that socialism is conceived as an evolutionary process whose nature is determined by the people themselves and not by a single ideological conception.

The creation of a socialist society in Czechoslovakia is impossible without the stimuli and influences of the West's socialist and democratic political culture. In the year of the 70th anniversary of the birth of the Czechoslovak Republic on 28 October 1918 Czechoslovak politics should start to restore Czechs' and Slovaks' historical memory, to transcend the ideological falsification of history, and in this context particularly that of Czechoslovakia's relations with all the European countries. The historical traditions of Czechs' and Slovaks' state awareness are inseparable from openness toward West Europe, and the attempt to isolate Czechoslovakia in that direction has nothing in common with socialism, or with its alliance relations and general cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries that invoke socialism.

The present Czechoslovak regime, which denies citizens the right to travel freely and to decide independently which countries they want to go to and how long they want to live there and which deprives them of their citizenship simply because they live in the West, reflects a feudal conception of relations between the state and society based on serfdom. Furthermore, it deprives tens of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks of the opportunity to aid Czechoslovakia's development in the most diverse sectors by contributing their experiences acquired throughout the world.

Surmounting Country's Isolation [subhead]

As a Czechoslovak socialist opposition group working abroad, we see primarily in the surmounting of this isolation the clearest chances of our cooperation in a possible new process of reform in Czechoslovakia. We are an integral part of the European left and it is in this context that we have been working for many years and will continue to work.

From this stance we criticize, and will continue to criticize, all the negative phenomena that we observe in our country.

We certainly are not defenders of the principle of "the worse, the better." We will support all positive steps, albeit partial and gradual, that could move toward a fundamental change of the "normalized" situation, whether in the economic, cultural, or political field. We will also support all the forces striving to achieve democratic changes—whether independently of the official institutions or within them, including the CPCZ.

We are convinced that in this year, the 70th anniversary of the birth of our republic and the 20th anniversary of the "Prague Spring," there will be sufficient stimuli for our peoples to renew their connections with the finest traditions of our history and to impose changes that will again make Czechoslovakia able to tackle the demands presented by the current phase of development in Europe and the world.

Daily Detects 'Bonapartism' in Management
AU081535 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
6 Jan 88 p 5

[Karel Rychtarik article: "Learning To Conduct Dialogue on an Equal Footing"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] We must learn to conduct an open dialogue, which is a way of looking for the truth. It presupposes not only a certain social climate, but also a certain refinement on the part of the participants in this dialogue. Monologue conducted from the position of the authority of dogmas is not conducive to science, and still less can it contribute to the solution of the contradictions of political practice.

Where dialogue on an equal footing is replaced by conformist nodding or by administrative steps against "inconvenient discussants," there theory comes to be dominated by scholasticism and the practice of management by bonapartism. [passage omitted]

Soviet comrades have been tracing the causes of these phenomena, which are not exceptional even under our conditions. As an inevitable outcome of bonapartism, the role of the masses has been weakened and the life of social organizations has become formalized. It is also one of the reasons of the declining interest in social affairs, of mindless skepticism and indifference.

Like every social phenomenon, bonapartism also has its dynamism. Once it emerges, it tends to procreate. We thus come across ranking personnel who, as was said at one session of the Central Trade Union Council, regard as the most important thing to "have in one pocket the chairman of the All-Enterprise CPCZ Committee and in the other the chairman of the All-Enterprise Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement."

Today the energy and smugness of some conceited "bonapartes" are channeled mostly into the effort "not to allow 'their' function to be filled by secret ballot." Sometimes one gets the impression as though it was the secret ballot that posed the greatest threat to socialism in our country. [passage omitted]

Even the most honest and truthful ideas will always be exposed to the danger that he who deals with them has not grown to be up to the level of their values. We, therefore, come across people who have managed to climb very high on the magnitude of ideas but who, once they reach the top, have nothing else in mind but how to stay where they are without falling down.

The processes of restructuring and acceleration call not only for a certain reassessment of the values and approaches that we have applied for entire decades. They also call for a "reassessment of oneself." And that is not always easy. That is precisely why many more "sparks will fly" in discussions. The fact is that the position of some people can be summed up as follows: "I am all in favor of restructuring and reassessment, by all means, provided that this will in no way affect my position and rank."

Restructuring is a call for dialogue and action. It is becoming the key issue of the life and work of the CPCZ and our society as a whole. It is the search for new roads toward a new dynamism of the development of socialism. [passage omitted]

Slusovice Party Official Interviewed
AU040938 Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech
24 Dec 87 pp 1,7

[Interview with Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ's All-Enterprise Committee of the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalists Zdenek Hoffmann and Jan Lipavsky: "And What Have You Got to Say About It, Comrade Chairman?"—in Slusovice, date not given]

[Text] [Question] How would you answer the question whether your united agricultural cooperative—in view of its multifaceted activity—is really a socialist cooperative?

[Cmolik] The means of production, after all, are the property of the members of the cooperative and the results of their work belong to them and to no one else. The fact that we are also carrying on production other

than agricultural does not change a thing in this respect. After all, the Draft Law on Agricultural Cooperatives, also, envisages sideline production, entrepreneurial production.

[Question] What do you think are the reasons for the doubts that exist regarding your united agricultural cooperative?

[Cmolik] Obviously, and above all, the distorted information about our work. But I also cannot exclude that incorrect views can come into being as a result of a lack of comprehension of what is new in our work, what is different in it compared with other places, although everything we do has its basis in the socialist order and the resolutions of the party and state agencies. It is obvious how important it is to inform the public about everything that is going on here.

[Question] Let us touch upon your party work. Tell us, what viewpoint is the most important when assessing the cooperative's activity?

[Cmolik] People, their working conditions, their interests and needs, a matter which is also connected with the cooperative's prosperity and development.

[Question] But some of our readers think that you are "squeezing the labor force to the extreme."

[Cmolik] If we would be "squeezing" them, we would not have so many people interested in getting a job with us.

[Question] All right, but what pleasure, for example, can a bricklayer or a person feeding cattle derive from work when he must in many cases fulfill higher norms than those that exist in other places?

[Cmolik] First of all, our people have their work prepared on time, they are not distracted by chasing tools, materials, and so forth. There is order at workplaces. And this is one of the prerequisites why work is smooth and rapid [prace jde od ruky], why they enjoy working.

[Question] You talk as if your people would not be interested in money...

[Cmolik] I am not saying that; they are interested in money, but the important thing is whether you earn it for work which you enjoy doing, which gives you pleasure, or for work which you dislike doing. It is very important that everyone can develop his talents. In our place you will find employees who regard satisfaction with what they are doing to be the most important factor.

[Question] Perhaps also because they are making good money.

[Cmolik] Certainly. I would say this is the prerequisite for liberating man from work that would only be the means of making a living.

[Question] Although for many people it is, our readers might also be interested in knowing just how high the earnings are in your cooperative? Can your party organization put its hand into the fire that they are always fair, that they really depend on the volume and quality of work done?

[Cmolik] First of all, we are not paying attendance money to anyone. We are paying for a quintal of hay or meat, for a liter of milk, and so forth. Everyone gets only what is due to him according to the result of work, and according to norms and the work contract. Moreover, the earnings are also contingent upon the quality of products. Because the conditions of work are changing, we are changing the manner of remuneration too. Since what is involved is the sensitive issue of social justice, we in the CPCZ All-Enterprise Committee and all our organizations carefully follow and supervise the observance of the principles of remuneration. In the presence of collectives, the results of everyone's work and the quality of all products are being separately assessed at work sites every week.

[Question] What, actually, does the differentiation in remuneration look like in your cooperative?

[Cmolik] There are people who are very well paid; they bring home as much as Kcs7,000 per month—such as the best ones of those who are feeding cattle. But there also are cases where a person gets only Kcs800 for a month's work. It has also happened that a person in a higher position [vedouci] came to pick up his pay and got nothing. But he can make up for it next month by better work or, if you prefer, by eliminating shortcomings from the previous period. This means that should one of the ranking personnel [vedouci] exceed the volume of wages without the corresponding output, he goes home without getting paid.

[Question] And if someone protests, if he is dissatisfied?

[Cmolik] Everyone of us has the possibility to voice his opinion on any decision or plan without having to worry that, for example, a critical objection to a proposal of a superior would in some way unfavorably affect the person who made the criticism.

[Question] But who can guarantee that no one is going to be harassed for criticizing?

[Cmolik] In the first place, the party organization.

[Question] Are there any of the cooperative's measures that bypass your party organization?

[Cmolik] There are, and they exclusively concern the operational, technical-organizational, and the usual run-of-the-mill measures that serve the flexible management of the enterprise. However, the party organization assesses all fundamental matters of a conceptual nature. By this I want to say that in no case do we displace the cooperative's management when it comes to running the enterprise.

[Question] And regarding the cadre policy?

[Cmolik] The employment and placement of personnel from the ranks of technical-economic cadres is passed by the cadre organization to the party all-enterprise committee for approval. After having assessed such proposals, we submit it to the Presidium of the cooperative which, after coming to an agreement with us, decides about employing or placing this or that person. By the way, all cadre changes arising from the regular quarterly assessments of technical-economic staff are submitted by the management of the cooperative to the CPCZ All-Enterprise Committee. Nothing that is happening in the cadre sphere occurs without our knowledge and opinion.

[Question] Did it happen that you did not agree with a proposal of the management of the cooperative for a given change in a function?

[Cmolik] It did. For example, the all-enterprise committee did not agree with a chief of a plant [vedouci zavodu] being recalled and transferred to the post of chief of an operation. We knew that person had certain family problems, which affected the results of his work. After all, we must be humane and assess such cases in a humane way. We submitted to the management of the cooperative a proposal to give him 3 more months to pull himself together. The management agreed, and the man pulled himself together.

[Question] Does what you just said also apply to people who are not party members?

[Cmolik] Yes, it does. Fifty-two percent of those in the management of the cooperative are party members. From that it is obvious that people without party affiliation, too, are in leading posts.

[Question] Do you want to say that the aspect of political affiliation is immaterial to you?

[Cmolik] No, it is not. But it is not a drawback when, for example, the director of the enterprise is without party affiliation. But we demand that he has proper political and professional knowledge.

[Question] Why do some people who wrote to us think that your party organization is only a pendant of the economic management?

[Cmolik] I suspect that they have such experience from their own enterprise, or it is because they are not acquainted with our conditions.

[Question] When was it the last time that the CPCZ All-Enterprise Committee was against a candidate for some post, who was not a party member?

[Cmolik] At the latest session of the party's all-enterprise committee.

[Question] Why?

[Cmolik] The matter involved the appointment of a deputy director of the enterprise in which, by the way, the director, too, is without party affiliation. We objected because—in our opinion—the candidate for the post did not fulfill all requirements in respect to political and professional knowledge and competence.

[Question] Was the chairman of the cooperative of a different opinion?

[Cmolik] No, he was not. The nomination was submitted by a deputy [namestek] of one of the production sectors.

[Question] What was the result?

[Cmolik] After a discussion and arguments which we submitted, the deputy withdrew the nomination. The matter was resolved through dialogue.

[Question] Do all ranking economic personnel render accounts to your party organization, regardless whether or not they are party members?

[Cmolik] Yes, they do. But here I would like to add that when it comes to rendering accounts, we do not concentrate on evaluating figures only. This is a matter for the economic management. Leading personnel [vedouci] submit to us, in particular, only how deeply they penetrated the solution of relations among people, the solution of the demands and conditions related to the work of our collectives and, especially, how they are creating such conditions. [sentence as published]

[Question] What does it mean that submitted figures do not interest you that much?

[Cmolik] We are not so much interested in whether in some place they fulfilled the plan 101 percent, but, instead for example, in whether and in what condition they are handing over work sites to socialist care, this being the equivalent of our full economic accountability applied to individual work sites, machinery, and equipment. The economic results, namely, then look accordingly...

[Question] And what happens when you ascertain that someone did not fulfill his tasks?

[Cmolik] We are trying to forestall this. We are already checking into the course of the tasks' fulfillment on how things are going.

[Question] Thus it does not exist in your cooperative that a task would not be fulfilled?

[Cmolik] Mostly not.

[Question] What do you mean by "mostly?"

[Cmolik] It might happen that something is forgotten or overlooked. We are only human, but we are trying to quickly rectify any error or shortcomings...

[Question] And when it involves a party member who clearly grossly neglected his duties and the entire collective had to pay dearly for it?

[Cmolik] We adhere to the party statutes. We have the possibility to mete out punishment along the party lines, as well—in case of a person without party affiliation—as to recommend to the management of the cooperative to deal with such cases and adopt the appropriate measures.

[Question] The way you are saying these things gives the impression that you, in the party organization, are always and in every respect right.

[Cmolik] We do not aspire to that. But since we make collective decisions, we make a minimal number of mistakes.

[Question] Could you tell us when you were not right?

[Cmolik] For example, in the past we, in the all-enterprise committee, were unable to comprehend the importance of biochemistry and biotechnology in the program of our cooperative. Only after having analyzed and figured out this program has the party organization identified with the opinion of the management of the cooperative.

[Question] However, there are certain risks connected with the introduction of biochemistry and biotechnology, risks that some plans will become a failure...

[Cmolik] Would there be progress without risk?

[Question] How can you prove that you are in a position to effectively present opposing views to the economic management on specialized issues?

[Cmolik] Above all, with the fact that we have a cadre of comrades-experts in our party organization. By the way, we do present opposing views [zucastnujeme se oponentnich rizeni] when the cooperative's development plans are discussed.

[Question] Let us return for a moment to what is called "comradely relations." From what you are telling us it sounds as if everything is the way it should be. But why are some of your people running away from you?

[Cmolik] Running away? This is a strong expression. People are leaving—overwhelmingly following mutual consent. It is mostly those who worked only a short time in the cooperative that are leaving. They came mostly as a result of incorrect information and thought that they will earn more money for less work. When they come across the hard reality, they go away. Fluctuation usually applies only to those employees who have been with us less than 2 years.

[Question] It could be that they cannot stand favoritism. Several readers, namely, wrote to us that such phenomena allegedly exist in your cooperative.

[Cmolik] If what they mean is that we are employing wives and relatives of members of the cooperative, then we do not regard that as favoritism. We are, namely, interested in entire families working in our cooperative, because that, too, stabilizes the work collective and creates the prerequisite also for the children of our members, after they leave school, joining us.

[Question] Is it true that relatives of the chairman of the cooperative hold some offices?

[Cmolik] It is true. For example, his brother has been working in our cooperative for 25 years now; that is, since the founding of the united agricultural cooperative. The chairman's wife has worked in the cooperative since she was single. She is a zootechnician and has the necessary qualifications. The fact that relatives are working here is not only our specific feature. They work in other agricultural enterprises, too.

[Question] And does it not happen that relatives become proteged in various ways?

[Cmolik] In many respects they are worse off than the rest, because they are constantly under the strict surveillance of the entire—and not only cooperative—public.

[Question] Do you want to say that you see to it that there is equality among the members of the cooperative, regardless of whether a person is a worker or the director of the enterprise?

[Cmolik] Exactly.

[Question] You are satisfied with the work of the party organization, then...

[Cmolik] No party functionary, and therefore including myself, can be and should be completely satisfied with what he is doing...

[Question] And what is it then with which you are not satisfied?

[Cmolik] Although we can show that we are trying to ensure the satisfaction of the members of the cooperative, that we are striving for new methods of work, that we are extensively implementing scientific-technical development, and so forth, there still exists certain untapped potential. For example, not all party organizations are working equally well, so that we will have to set also that right...

[Question] How do you actually square this dissatisfaction with the fact that last year, for example, your output totalled Kcs3.5 billion, net profit Kcs316 million, the per-hectare yields of cereals have been exceeding 6 metric tons for a few years now, and the milk yield is close to 6,000 liters per stabled milk cow per annum. Is that not enough to make you happy?

[Cmolik] No, it is not. Because if it would be enough, development would come to a halt. I mean this generally. In general it applies that precisely we, the Communists, must constantly strive for progress, to satisfy the needs of society. This is our mission and commitment in one.

[Question] Do you think you will be accorded trust and reelected as chairman of the all-enterprise committee?

[Cmolik] The answer to this question will be given by the collective of our Communists.

[Question] We thank you for the interview.

[The interview is illustrated with a photo taken during an undated visit to Slusovice by Soviet Economist Academician Abel Aganbegyan. In the caption he is quoted as having said that when he heard from the Slusovice management about the cooperative's performance and its production volume "the figures were so big that I did not believe them, and asked about them several times."]

Citizens General Health 'Causes Concern'

AU021554 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: Healthy Living"]

[Excerpts] The end of the year is drawing near and the mail is filled with messages wishing all the best to everybody everywhere. Probably only the wishes sent to, or by, young people omit the small word "health"—presumably because a young person usually does not hurt yet, and because at that age he has other interests and worries. However, as people grow old, they begin to think about their health, and to fervently wish for good health themselves, for those dear to them, and for their friends.

The general state of the population's health has recently been of concern to us. Diseases, which make the life of the afflicted persons difficult, have begun to crop up far more frequently than in the past. This applies, for example, to cardio-vascular diseases—in other words, to heart and artery diseases; to malignant tumors; or to allergies which are so frequently diagnosed among our children. We call all these ailments civilization diseases, as their origins and course are affected by the environments in which people live, and by each individual's way of life. This state of affairs must cause us serious concern, if only because in the years 1960-65 the average life span of our citizens put us in the 5th place in Europe, whereas today we have dropped to 22d place. True, in our country, too, the citizens' average age has risen, but it is rising elsewhere at a much much quicker rate. [passage omitted]

Various statistics tell us that our people are taking considerable risks with their health, counting the costs only when they start losing it.

We are looking for a reason to explain this attitude about one's own health. Perhaps it is due to the fact that our society guarantees everybody the right to any medical treatment an illness may require. Nobody needs to be afraid to being left destitute at the time of illness, or to having to pay for medical treatment. Simply, nobody is afraid to get ill. [passage omitted]

Every year we can register more than 600,000 accidents, three quarters of which occurred when people were not at work. Some injuries heal without any further effects; others change the rest of the afflicted person's life. Their causes? They are mostly due to an overestimation of one's own strength or to a lack of caution; and quite a few occur in a state of inebriation. Last year we even registered 27 serious injuries incurred in a state of inebriation at work. We can (and today we must) provide better rehabilitation facilities, so as to enable people to return to normal life; at the same time it is essential to constantly remind people that every individual must make it his own business to protect himself against injuries.

The Scientific Council of the Ministry of Health in the Czech SR has issued an appeal, dated 1 January 1988 and called "A Chance for 3 Million." It is an anti-smoking campaign. [passage omitted] The reaction to this appeal among our readers was considerable—both among the smokers, and particularly among the non-smokers. This is quite understandable. True, some people consider the solution quite simple: Just ban all cigarette sales; since smoking is harmful, there is no need to discuss this. At the first glance it seems an easy solution—the only thing is, that it would lead us nowhere. Our senior citizens would merely recall the times when smoking materials were rationed, and when people scraped together and planted everything and anything, wherever they could. [passage omitted] Another of our problems is nourishment and what it leads to—namely, obesity. [passage omitted]

We are discussing all kinds of possible (and necessary) changes in our economy, with the aim of satisfacting to the optimum people's material and cultural needs. However, we should not forget that nothing can replace one's health, which represents a significant contribution to his happiness. That is why everybody should make it his business to take care of his health—to protect it, and not to provoke its breakdown by bad habits (or at least to reduce such provocations to the minimum).

ADN Details Honecker Arrival in Paris 7 Jan

LD071835 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Paris, 7 Jan (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Paris on Thursday for a 3-day state visit to the French Republic. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker is accompanied by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the State Council; Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade; Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department in the SED Central Committee; Secretary of State Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancellery of the State Council; and Alfred Marter, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in the French Republic. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker was greeted by Andre Giraud, minister of defense; Georges Chavanes, minister-delegate in charge of trade and handicraft; Gerard Longuet, minister-delegate to the minister of industry, posts and telecommunications and tourism; Ambroise Guellec, secretary of state of the sea; Adrien Zeller, secretary of state to the minister of social affairs and employment; and the prefect of police of Paris, Jean Paolini.

After the members of Erich Honecker's official delegation and the group of experts were introduced to the French president, Francois Mitterrand gave a welcoming address in which he again warmly welcomed his guest. In his reply, Erich Honecker thanked him for this friendly welcome to France. [passage omitted] The president then accompanied Erich Honecker on the journey to the center of Paris. [passage omitted]

The GDR flag was flying in front of the Hotel de Marigny. A unit of the Republican Guard saluted when Erich Honecker and Francois Mitterrand were welcomed by Lieutenant Colonel Paul Eechout, who accompanied them to the Great Salon. Here the statesmen had a brief talk and exchanged personal gifts. The president took leave of his guest with best wishes for an agreeable visit.

Erich Honecker was seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Army General Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Army Gen Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange and Gerhard Schuerer; by the Deputy Chairmen of the State Council Prof Dr Heinrich Homann and Dr Guenther Maleuda; and the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, Rudolph Schulze and Dr Herbert Weiz. The charge d'affaires of the French Republic in the GDR, Philippe Bossiere, was also present.

Mitterrand Welcome Speech

LD072042 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (ADN)—The following is the text of the address given by the president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand, to welcome Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at Paris-Orly Airport:

I welcome you here, Mr State Council Chairman, and am pleased that you are here in this country, which you passed through in different times. How much has occurred since then. Today we are once again witnesses to a new epoch in the history of Europe, having been its supporter before and having become its supporter now. You are warmly welcomed to our country.

We will have ample opportunity to discuss matters, to talk both about the theme of bilateral relations and a few problems of worldwide significance, which—it goes without saying—are of interest to your country and ours. You will also have an opportunity to meet various public figures, figures who occupy senior positions in the government and in other capacities in France and Paris. I hope that in these meetings and in acquainting yourself with the capital you will find means of allowing us to establish, over and above several frontiers, a dialogue, mutual relations and a way of understanding one another, something we have high hopes of.

I say to you once again, Mr Chairman, you are warmly welcome here. You are our guest here. We have wanted to meet each other for a long time. That has now come about and we thank you for this.

Honecker Responds to Welcome

LD071903 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (ADN)—The text of the reply by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the welcoming address by President Francois Mitterrand at Paris-Orly Airport is as follows:

I thank you for the cordial words of welcome. I gladly accepted the invitation to visit your beautiful country, whose people have contributed so much to mankind's progress and to the treasure house of world culture.

I would like, immediately after the start of the new year, to convey to all citizens of the French Republic warm greetings and best wishes on behalf of the people of the GDR. The past year ended with results which are encouraging for mankind and which justify new hopes.

Tensions and mistrust are beginning to give way to detente and trust. Misunderstandings can be lessened through understanding of the other, and confrontation can be reduced through insight into overriding needs. The realities of today's world increasingly demand that confrontation be overtaken by cooperation and that solutions which correspond to the interests of the states and of each of their citizens be reached.

In the new year of 1988, let additional important steps follow the first agreed step to real nuclear disarmament. The goal must be to assure peace through a radical reduction of the strategic nuclear arsenals, the elimination of chemical weapons and reduction of conventional troops and armaments. It is a matter of growing trust among states and a greater degree of cooperation in East-West relations.

Twice this century incalculable suffering has been visited upon Europe by German militarism and Hitlerite fascism. The victims and martyrs among the French people will never be forgotten. The GDR has drawn from the past the historically compelling conclusion that everything must be done so that never again war, and only peace emanates from German soil.

At the present time especially our peoples are filled with hope and confidence. The treaty signed a few weeks ago between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their medium and shorter range missiles proves that the way to more security leads via constructive dialogue and sensible political solutions.

The GDR unreservedly supports the agreement signed. It actively helped to bring it about, and will now do everything in its power for its realization.

People do not want to perish in a nuclear inferno. They expect from the politicians further and more radical disarmament agreements.

There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Therefore, all our endeavors are directed toward promoting detente and, with the deepening of bilateral relations, setting up good markers for the path to the emerging new stage of international cooperation.

I am convinced, Mr President, that the upcoming talks and meetings will be imbued with this spirit and I am looking forward to them with great expectation.

Thank you for your attention.

Honecker, Mitterrand Hold Talks

LD072251 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2043 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Paris, 7 Jan (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, started their talks in Paris this evening. [passage omitted]

Numerous journalists covered the opening of the talks at the offical seat of the French president. On leaving the Elysee Palace, Erich Honecker answered a question about how the talks had gone by saying: "Very well."

Spokesmen for the two sides then reported the content and course of the talks. Jean Musitelli, the president's diplomatic adviser, described the atmosphere of the approximately 1-and-1/2-hour talk as open and relaxed. Francois Mitterrand stated that he was pleased with the visit. He underlined the importance of the European states and peoples understanding each other. When, as in the case of France and the GDR, states have different social orders and belong to different alliances, relations are more complex and less simple. It is important that this dialogue is taking place. The French president quoted Erich Honecker's statement that Europe comprises one quarter of the world and that it is important for all inhabitants of that quarter to do their utmost to live with each other as peacefully as possible.

With regard to the topic of peace and disarmament the president stated that the treaty which had recently been concluded in Washington and which has to be assessed positively opens up a broad perspective and introduces a process.

With regard to the letter to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which was outlined by Erich Honecker, Francois Mitterrand underlined in connection with short-range weapons that the French nuclear weapons are not tactical but strategic weapons. On no account could they be included in negotiations on conventional armaments. France has a global strategy which is based on various types of weapons. Nor is the president in favor of dealing with short-range missiles far too early in relation to the other priorities in disarmament negotiations.

With regard to the continuation of the Washington treaty both partners in the talk agreed in stressing the need for an early 50-percent reduction in strategic arms. Francois Mitterrand stressed that the treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles is particularly important for Europe. A second stage would be even more significant, because it affects the central systems of strategic weapons of the two superpowers. This would not only be of great psychological significance but would also facilitate the continuation of the balanced and verifiable disarmament process.

The State Council chairman recalled the summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact member states of May and December 1987 in Berlin, where a readiness not to exclude any type of weapon or verification questions from the disarmament process was underscored. The Warsaw Pact member states outlined the defensive character of their military doctrine of the two coalitions, which would undoubtedly be an important contribution to reducing distrust and reaching a better understanding of the intentions of the two sides.

Erich Honecker also referred to the need for regional measures. He emphasized that regional European steps could have a favorable influence on the situation in the world and promote global progress. He referred to the proposals which the GDR submitted jointly with the CSSR for a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe. The corridor proposal in particular, which went back to an initiative from Olof Palme, could promote nuclear disarmament steps and bring specific progress in conventional disarmament in Europe. Dangerous offensive weapons, both nuclear and conventional, which remain on the dividing line between the two alliances under the medium-range missile treaty, could thus be moved apart. This would be an important step in the direction of a mutual nonaggression capability.

The two sides dealt with the question of how stability, trust, and cooperation can be strengthened on our continent on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act. Erich Honecker stressed the GDR's readiness to conclude, in addition to the military sphere, new agreements in the economic, ecological, scientific-technical, and humanitarian spheres of the Helsinki process at the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference for the benefit of people in Europe. It is also high time to establish official relations between the CEMA and the EC, and between the GDR and the European communities.

Proceeding from the assumption that the all-around development of relations between the GDR and France serves the interests of the two peoples and is a not inconsiderable contribution to improving the situation in Europe, the GDR state Council chairman expressed the wish to continue the constructive exchange of views with President Mitterrand.

President Mitterrand, the GDR spokesman said, assessed the visit as an expression of the good state of relations between the two states. He described it as a highpoint in the cooperation, which is beneficial to the two sides. The president agreed with Erich Honecker that fresh impulses would result from the visit. He also attached great value to dialogue, since it promotes mutual understanding and can substantially contribute to detente. Francois Mitterrand explained his standpoint on current problems in world politics, stressing that the signing of the treaty on medium-range missiles also met with a lively response in France. One should disarm and not build up arms, he said, since disarmament is a guarantee of peace. The agreement introduced a process which must be continued at all costs. Francois Mitterrand mentioned the strong agreement on the issues dealt with with regard to nuclear and conventional disarmament.

Referring to the prospects for bilateral relations, President Mitterrand expressed his conviction that these continue to be capable of expansion and that good possibilities exist for this.

Francois Mitterrand accepted an invitation to visit the GDR with thanks.

USSR's Antonov, Delegation Arrive 11 Jan

LD110827 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0749 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 Jan (ADN)—A USSR Government delegation headed by Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in the GDR capital today. It is to attend the 41st session of the mixed government commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR which opens in Berlin this morning.

The Soviet guests were cordially welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and other members of the Council of Ministers.

Leaders Greet Cambodia on National Day

AU081434 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
7 Jan 88 pp 1-2

[ND report: "Friendship With Cambodia Has Been Expanded"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary ofthe SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; and Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP]; Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK State Council; and Chea Sim, chairman of the PRK National Assembly:

Esteemed Comrades,

On the occasion of the PRK national day, we convey to you, the KPRP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly, and the

fraternal Cambodian people cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber, and the people of the GDR, as well as on our own behalf.

The GDR people follow very attentively and sympathetically the successful development of the PRK and the results achieved in the process of national reconciliation and wish you, dear Comrades, many more successes.

Over the past years the relations of fraternal friendship and close, manifold cooperation between our two parties, states, parliaments, and peoples have continuously developed and deepened in the interest of strengthening socialism and consolidating peace. We are convinced that this development will continue also in the future for the benefit of the people in our two states.

Esteemed comrades, please accept our best wishes for new successes and for good health and creative energy in your responsible work.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers;

Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber.

Defense Minister Receives Bulgaria's Mitkov

DW071350 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army Political Main Administration, today discussed further deepening the close brotherhood-in-arms and common responsibility for the collective protection of socialist achievements. During the meeting, Army Gen Kessler said that it was a prime concern for the GDR and its armed forces to continue to make an active contribution to strengthening socialism and securing peace.

Leaders Public Appearances 30 Dec to 6 Jan

AU092033 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 31 December 1987 to 7 January 1988 reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, presented congratulations from the SED Central Committee to Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on his 60th birthday and conferred the honorary title "Hero of Labor" to him in East Berlin; date not given. (5 January, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Tunisia, for farewell visits in East Berlin on 4 January. (5 January, p 2) Stoph received Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Soviet Forces in Germany, in East Berlin on 5 January. (6 January, p 1) Stoph addressed a meeting of the employees of the GDR Staatsverlag [state publishing house] in East Berlin on 6 January. (7 January, p 2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented congratulations from the SED Central Committee to Egon Winkelmann, first vice president and general secretary of the League of Friendship Among Peoples, on his 60th birthday, in East Berlin; date not given. (5 January, p 2)

Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and head of the German People's Police, thanked the members and civilian employees of the People's Police for their dedicated work in East Berlin; date not given. (31 December, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership, thanked the Fritzsche Unit of the GDR Border Troops for its achievements in Magdeburg on 30 December. (31 December, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, thanked all members, civilian employees, and reservists of the National People's Army for their performances in 1987 in East Berlin; date not given. (31 December, p 2) Kessler received a delegation of the Political Main Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army headed by its chief, Colonel General Mitkov, in East Berlin on 5 January. (6 January, p 1)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke at the opening of a training course of the GDR Gymnastics and Sports Federation in East Berlin on 4 January. (5 January, p 2) Krenz received Mohamed Kraiem, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Tunisia, for a farewell visit in East Berlin on 6 January. (7 January, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, visited the Berlin Machine Tool Factory on 4 January. (5 January, p 1)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus SED Bezirk leadership, visited the "Fritz Selbmann" Black Pump Gas combine in Spremberg on 1 January. (2-3 January, p 1)

Kadar, Nemeth Greet CSSR's Husak on Birthday
LD102152 Budapest MTI in English
2100 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, HSWP general secretary, and Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, have greeted in a telegram Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

Polish Daily Questions Karoly Grosz
AU071435 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Answers given by Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, to questions submitted by RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Having Faith in Success and Our Own Capabilities"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Premier, in your opinion what will be the most important tasks and problems pertaining to your country's socioeconomic development in 1988?

[Grosz] The year 1988 will be a great trial of strength for the Hungarian economy and society. The government has drawn up a national program for stabilization and development and has prepared a plan for the upcoming year. The decisions adopted at the winter session of the National Assembly have produced organizational and personal conditions for more efficient work. At the present time, progress calls for the renewed attainment of national accord; that is our most important task. To bring about the effective realization of our program, we should mobilize the broadest possible social strata. We face enormous tasks, and we will not be able to accomplish them without having faith in success and our own capabilities. Personally, I am convinced that we will obtain support from the people, and—despite difficulties and the unpopular actions that have to be taken—that we will overcome our problems.

As far as the economic sphere is concerned, we must modernize our production structure; there is no alternative. This is a great burden, especially in view of the fact that it is not possible, even temporarily, to abandon our intention of achieving equilibrium in our balance of trade situation and retaining our capacity to make payments. A significant reduction in domestic consumption will definitely give rise to social tension. We already sensed this during the course of preparations for the introduction of a universal income tax and universal turnover tax. The government is trying to do its best to cushion the effects of these essential moves. Our social policy will accord particular attention to young people who are just beginning their working lives, pensioners who receive low pensions, and families in which there are a large number of children.

A significant number of these temporary sacrifices have to be made in 1988 so that the years that follow it will be easier and Hungary can once again embark on a path of dynamic development. The new government and I personally believe that the next few months will be of decisive importance in this respect.

[Question] What ought to be done to speed up the process of achieving real progress in creating a world that is secure and free from nuclear weapons and creating an atmosphere of confidence and openness in internal relations?

[Grosz] Hungary, like the other socialist countries, welcomed the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington and the results that it produced. I think that the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles may produce a significant reduction in the level of tension in internal relations. We hope that if dialogue between the two nuclear powers becomes of a systematic kind it will result in an important reduction in the size of the arsenal of strategic weapons. A feeling of joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace has become tangibly stronger in relations between East and West. Like Poland, we are also trying to do what we can to expand the most effective forms of cooperation between states with different social systems and to increase contacts between different political and military alliances. Our activity in international relations has made our country a participant in European political life with a distinct character. For our voice to continue to carry weight, we must carry on displaying reason and being aware of realities. I think that at the present time there is a very close link between our aims in domestic policy and those in the international arena. This calls for initiative and an active stance in foreign policy. In trying to realize these aims we will continue to count on the support of other socialist countries and the Soviet Union above all.

We are primarily interested in the creation of a more secure existence for all the states on our continent. We consider limiting the role of factors of a military nature to be the main goal of our efforts in the foreign policy field. In participating in talks, we are striving to bring about a significant reduction in the military capacity of both sides that would leave both sides with no more than the forces and weapons that they need to defend themselves. We think that the so-called Jaruzelski Plan represents an important contribution to these efforts.

I consider the stronger climate of mutual trust in international political life to be particularly important. However, we cannot restrict this trust to the military sphere. We have increased cooperation even in such a delicate sphere as interpersonal relationships and humanitarian affairs. But there are still many unsolved problems as far as the human factor is concerned. That is why we are also anxious that the Vienna CSCE should end with the

signing of a document that is rich in content. This could provide a new stimulus for multilateral contacts between the CSCE participant states and between the citizens of these states.

The results of the CSCE process may be put to good use during the development of bilateral relations. We attach major importance to adopting and including in the CSCE final document proposals concerning guaranteeing the rights of ethnic minorities. We believe that improving the life of these minorities and assuring the development of cultural and interpersonal contacts that transcend political boundaries should play a positive role in increasing mutual trust.

We attach major importance to conducting energetic and continuous political dialogue with the leaders of other countries, regardless of economic contacts. Top-level political contacts permit better mutual acquaintanceship and a better coordination of joint and national interests. My recent talks with Comrade Jaruzelski have also shown that meetings like this impart a concrete dimension to political stances and intentions and help us come to agreements concerning our interests.

[Question] In relations with our country, what do you consider most important and most worthy of continuation?

[Grosz] I believe that an aim to understand each other's situation and interests, to honestly assess mutual conditions and possibilities, and to develop cooperation is a decisive factor in the shaping of our contacts. Our contacts apply to all spheres of life. We have common goals and principles, and the methods we use are also similar in many respects. The results of cooperation so far and the experience gained during the economic and social reforms are providing favorable conditions in order to enhance our contacts. We are determined to do so. I think that the "Comprehensive Program of Developing Hungarian-Polish Cooperation Until 2000" that was signed by Comrades Janos Kadar and Wojciech Jaruzelski in December is a thing of particular importance that will provide a suitable framework for our future cooperation.

The economies of our countries complement each other in many respects, and we have to take advantage of this fact even more in our aim to apply more developed principles of the division of labor. We should aim toward an intensive development of direct contacts between our scientific institutions and enterprises and create—always on the basis of mutual interest and efficiency criteria—joint ventures and enterprises.

To modernize production and adapt it to the needs of the world market is an urgent task facing the Hungarian and Polish economies. This task provides new possibilities of cooperation between the enterprises of both countries and the chance to create direct contacts.

In each of our countries, we should create closer links between scientific research and production and coordinate our research and development plans. All this calls for a new concept of cooperation.

I am convinced that our comprehensive cooperation, geared toward mutual interests and effectiveness, serves our peoples well and at the same time enhances the implementation of the interests of the entire socialist community.

'The Week' Program Interviews Medgyessy

LD102211 Budapest MTI in English
1815 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—In an interview aired on Sunday by "A Het" (The Week), a political magazine of the Hungarian Television, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy spoke about the prevailing economic situation and the reform process.

Concerning the reorganization of government, Peter Medgyessy said that both the scope of authority and the responsibility of the ministers had increased.

On the implementation of the economic reform, the deputy prime minister said:

We had first to reform the most insecure point of the Hungarian economic mechanism, namely the price and financial system, which should measure efficiency and help both the producer and the consumer to see clearly. Later on the wage system should be developed, and the wage policy reformed to create a closer correlation between performance and incomes. There should be a social-welfare policy reform as well.

Referring to the larger than usual inflation planned for 1988, Peter Medgyessy said that the government should pursue an anti-inflationary policy. He added that even central interventions might be required so that the living standards of those who would be the mostly affected by the price raises should not deteriorate to a greater extent than planned.

As 1988 will be a year of utmost importance for the external balance of the Hungarian economy, exports should be preferred to domestic sales.

In conclusion, Peter Medgyessy spoke about the reform, as a way of thinking:

Thinking in terms of an economic reform will be successful and efficient if it is not limited to the economy. It should go far beyond that, and have an influence on society as a whole. Just as the 1968 reform was a factor that influenced the way of thinking, so the years to come should also have such an effect. We face a change in mentality in which performance-orientation and rationality should be made compatible with the socialist principles.

U.S. Journalist 'Distorts' Economic Reform

LD101418 Budapest in Hungarian to Europe 2000 GMT 9 Jan 88

["This is What They Say About Us" program, presented by Endre Barcs]

[Excerpts] [Barcs] In a previous program, we said we would return to the article by Peter Keresztes, which appeared in the WALL STREET JOURNAL on 16 December, entitled In Hungary, Taxes, and Tears.

It transpires from the article that the Hungarian origin of the author is an advantage over those of his colleagues who criticize our homeland from above, who try to portray Hungary as some sort of exotic socialist country, and for this reason try to grasp exclusively the extremes, with every means, to be able to prove what kind of things can occur in such a social system.

Peter Keresztes ostensibly endeavors to mirror realities, confronts points of view, but in reality he paints a distorted picture. He asks personalities about the changes at present underway in our homeland, who according to the author of the article, envisage correctly the path leading to the resurgence [Kibontakozas] but are too far from the center of power to be able to realize their ideas.

The five people are the following: Janos Fekete, first deputy president of the Hungarian National Bank; Andras Hegedues, former prime minister; Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front; Rezsoe Nyers, who is usually referred to as the spiritual father of the 1968 economic reform; and Laszlo Antal, who played a major role in the preparation of the study entitled Turn and Reform.

Now, of the five people, only Andras Hegedues is far from power. The government always counts on Janos Fekete's professional financial advice; Rezsoe Nyers is a member of the Central Committee and the chairman of the Commerce Committee of the National Assembly; only foreign journalists try to characterize Imre Pozsgay as an oppositionist. In the portrait program broadcast by Hungarian television on 1 Jan, Karoly Grosz himself mentioned that foreign journalists try to create the impression that he, the premier, had conficts with Pozsgay, whereas they and other other politicians too just debate the various problems. Otherwise, Grosz and Pozsgay are good friends. As regards Laszlo Antal, his—to put it this way—very audacious economic ideas do receive many official criticisms, but some of his ideas gave a good starting point to the formulation of the present economic program.

The author thinks in such old cliches which luckily do not [word indistinct] in our social political life. Namely, what I am thinking of is that the present system of decision making does not operate in such a way that there is an accepted official view, and that whoever diverges from this is a dissident or an oppositionist. This applies particularly to the present economic reform which is a compromise solution. It was formulated by putting together many views and opinions.

Perhaps it is surprising for the author of the article that all five experts he asked criticized the reform program, although they agree. [as heard] If peter Keresztes were to read the Hungarian social policy journals, he would not be surprised at this, but rather at how many people analyze it in many different kinds of ways and often criticize this program, but this does not make any of them an oppositionist. Every one of them, just as those five people interviewed or quoted in the article, is expressing his opinion in the interests of improvement, development, and stabilization. The debate is only searching for the best methods of solving matters.

As proof, we now quote from the article. [passage omitted]

The debate is continuing, although decisions have been taken. Personal income tax was introduced on 1 January prices (?rose).

As regards the tears mentioned in the title of the article, well, we did not greet the drop in the standard of living with great joy, but we will not, however, cry over this.

Leaders' Public Appearances 30 Dec-5 Jan

AU081615 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian of 31 December and 6 January and MAGYAR NEMZET of 5 January report on the public appearances of the following leaders between 30 December and 5 January (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, attended a session of the Hungarian Economic Chamber on 6 January; place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG 6 Jan p 5)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Poliburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, attended the election of the first secretary of the MSZMP Committee of the Bacs-Kiskun County Council in Kecskemet on 30 December. (NEPSZABADSAG 31 Dec p 4) He also participated in a staff conference and established the new rector at the MSZMP Political College in Budapest on 4 January. (MAGYAR NEMZET 5 Jan p 3)

Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a 2-day visit to Bacs-Kiskun county on 29-30 December. (NEPSZABADSAG 31 Dec p 4)

FRG's Genscher Arrives on Official Visit

LD101738 Warsaw PAP in English
1709 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—FRG vice-chancellor, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived here today on an official visit to Poland at the invitation of Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, who had paid an official visit to the FRG in April 1986.

Minister Genscher's Polish visit will be devoted to a review of the whole issue of normalization of bilateral relations based on the treaty of December 7, 1970.

In the afternoon, Minister Genscher and his wife were greeted at the Okecie Airport by representatives of the Foreign Ministry management with Vice-Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

On the first day of his visit Minister Genscher started talks with his Polish counterpart Marian Orzechowski. Ambassadors of both states were also present.

Holds Talks With Orzechowski

LD102141 Hamburg DPA in German
2046 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—At the start of his 3-day visit to Poland, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on Sunday had 3 hours of discussions with his Polish counterpart Marian Orzechowski, concerning the most important problems in German-Polish relations. This talk, held at a guest house of the Polish Government, was described by the German side as extraordinarily friendly, serious and trusting. Both sides expounded their respective views very openly. They were agreed that German-Polish relations must be given a new impetus. The prospects are "encouraging and promising."

Genscher stressed that the fact that his first trip in 1988 has taken him to Warsaw shows he attaches great importance to German-Polish relations. One wishes to make a new start in order to achieve relaxed and sensible neighborly relations with Poland.

A note of discord interrupted the friendly mood at the start of the visit this evening with the news that the chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, Lech Walesa, had not received a day's leave from the management of the Lenin ship yard in Gdansk to take up an invitation from Genscher to hold a talk late on Tuesday evening in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

Continues Visit, Discussions

LD111029 Hamburg DPA in German
1016 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher continued his political talks on Monday in Warsaw at the Polish Foreign Ministry. He then drove to a meeting with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of the Catholic Church, in the latter's residence. Genscher began the second day of his visit on Monday with prayers in the Trinitatis Church and by laying a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier. The Trinitatis Church, built in 1791, was destroyed by German bombs on 17 September 1939 and rebuilt in 1958.

The federal foreign minister affirmed that he had come to Warsaw hoping the visit would be a further step in understanding between the two peoples. He wanted to talk with representatives of all social forces here. Pastor Jan Walter presented him with a souvenir medallion. Evangelical Christians are a small minority in Poland. The overwhelming majority of the population are very devout Catholics. [passage omitted]

Walesa Refused Leave For Talks With Genscher

LD101713 Hamburg DPA in German
1642 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned Solidarity trade union, has not been granted leave from his job at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk to take part in a meeting with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Warsaw on Tuesday evening. As Walesa said today on the telephone, he asked the shipyard management for a day's unpaid leave on Wednesday, citing Genscher's invitation to talks. This application was turned down without explanation. Gdansk is more than 300 km from Warsaw.

Walesa assured that he wanted to talk to Genscher in any case, "for the German partner is an important partner, perhaps even the most important." In order to talk to the minister, he was "resolved to do anything, even the worst." In talks with Genscher, he intended to explain Solidarity's stance on various important issues including those on which Solidarity's opinion differed from that of the government. Solidarity's attitude did not necessarily have to be regarded, but it had to be presented in any event.

This evening, talks apparently were going on in Warsaw on account of Walesa's leave application. The spokesman for the banned Solidarity trade union, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, assured that a solution could possibly be found by Monday.

Vows To Meet Minister

AU101713 Paris AFP in English
1706 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Jan 10 (AFP)—Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa said Sunday he was determined to meet here with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher although his Gdansk shipyard had refused him unpaid leave. [passage omitted]

Mr Genscher's schedule included a meeting with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski and a delegation from the banned Solidarity movement.

Mr Walesa told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from the Baltic port of Gdansk on Sunday that he would come to Warsaw to meet Mr Genscher Tuesday although a request for several days' unpaid leave from the shipyard where he works as an electrician had met with a "categorical refusal."

He said management had offered "no explanation whatsoever" for the decision. "In spite of this refusal, I will go to Warsaw, whatever the consequences, to meet Mr Genscher," Mr Walesa said, adding that the meeting was "too important to miss, even if it means being sacked from the shipyard." [passage omitted]

Rakowski Meets With USSR's Tolkunov

LD072243 Warsaw PAP in English
2206 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 7—Currently on a visit here, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and Polish Sejm's deputy speaker Mieczyslaw Rakowski met today with chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Lev Tolkunov.

The Polish guest was informed about the work of the USSR's Supreme Soviet, standing committees of its chambers, and of local councils in the conditions of restructuring and democratization.

Emphasis was laid upon the importance of perfecting legislature and operation of law enforcement bodies under new conditions. Information was exchanged on the operation of supreme bodies of state authority in the two countries.

Returns From USSR Visit

LD102146 Warsaw PAP in English
1953 GMT 10 Jan 88

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—PUWP CC Political Bureau member, deputy Sejm speaker Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski paid a week-long visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of chairmen of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. In his interview granted to the PAP correspondent at the end of the visit, Rakowski said, in part:

"There is no doubt that what is going on in the Soviet Union now—taking all the distinctive national features into account—must exert influence on the entire socialist formation, which, as we know, shows serious shortcomings, especially in the scientific-technological development and in the application of scientific attainments in everyday life.

"To me, restructuring is a sum of various actions expected to create conditions for fully unrestrained development of all potential dormant in socialist society. Already today, one can say that perestroyka [restructuring] untaps talents, enterprise, and inventiveness of people, which results in visible reviving social life. What I find very characteristic of the present stage of restructuring is the existence of a deep conviction that restructuring must succeed. This means a stern view on weaknesses and shortcomings, and optimism at the same time.

"A vital factor, which I think will be decisive for the entire socialist community, is the frequently reiterated thesis that economic reforms cannot be separated from reforming social life, democratization, and especially democratization within the party as the main force in Soviet society. The problem is that democratization within the party, as if automatically, affects other structures of the social and political life.

"I would like to draw attention to yet another crucial element, namely, to the fact that the Soviet Union—shaking itself off [as received] the bonds of conservatism and dogmatism, which are spoken of everywhere here as forces hampering further development, the Soviet Union overcoming inertia and providing opportunities of fully releasing creative capacity of the people—can also largely contribute to raising the significance of the left wing worldwide. In that sense, what has been implemented in the Soviet Union for three years is significant for the entire world.

"This significance also lies in the fact that the whole restructuring is based on the assumptions of what Mikhail Gorbachev defined as new political thinking in international relations. In other words, it provides a beneficial point of departure aimed at weakening those factors in international politics which led and continue to lead to an aggravation of conflicts and tensions. This very aspect of consolidating peaceful relations through the adoption of the programme of restructuring is of exceptional importance, [no closing quotation marks as received] Rakowski concluded.

Jaruzelski Receives Bulgaria's Stanishev

LD081601 Warsaw PAP in English
1520 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP) CC Dmitur Stanishev.

The sides stressed that friendly relations between the two parties and states were developing favourably in all fields.

They also expressed a conviction that the PUWP and BKP would deepen their fraternal cooperation and actively participate in implementing the jointly established policy of the Warsaw Treaty aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe.

The joint inter-party commission of the POWP and BKP held its third session here this January 7-8, under the chairmanship of PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Dmitur Stanishev.

The commission underscored the great significance of the decisions made during working meetings between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Todor Zhivkov on the development of comprehensive relations between Poland and Bulgaria.

Warsaw Session of BCP-PZPR Commission Noted
AU091543 Sofia BTA in English
1329 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, January 9 (BTA correspondent)—Yesterday Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), received Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

It was emphasised at the meeting that the BCP and the PUWP and Bulgaria and Poland successfully promote their friendly ties on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

The sides expressed the conviction that the BCP and the PUWP will persevere in making utmost efforts to enhance their cooperation and to share actively in the implementation of the Warsaw Treaty countries' policy seeking to strengthen peace and security in Europe and worldwide.

An emphasis was laid on the need to use new forms of cooperation in line with the requirements at this stage.

Under the chairmanship of Mr Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the PUWP, and of Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, the Joint Interparty Commission of the PUWP and the BCP held its third session in Warsaw on January 7 and 8.

The commission assessed the fulfilment of the decisions it made at its second session held in Sofia in December 1986. It was ascertained that the BCP and the PUWP successfully develop their cooperation at all levels, which helps enhance contacts in culture, science, between the mass media and the public organisations.

It was emphasised that the promotion of the all-round Bulgaro-Polish relations benefits considerably from the common understanding reached at the meetings between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Commercial exchanges were found to be making vigorous and mutually advantageous progress. Conditions have been created for the establishment of joint ventures and organisations. The sides stressed the need for more active production cooperation and specialisation.

It was pointed out that the changes under way in both countries' economic management should help promote and expand economic ties and should encourage the use of new efficient forms of business interaction.

The sides discussed the cooperation between the Academy of Social Sciences and Management with the CC of the BCP and the Academy of Social Sciences with the PUWP.

Visiting U.S. Senator's Day Chronicled
LD072052 Warsaw PAP in English
1927 GMT 7 Jan 88

[by Miroslaw Luniewski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—U.S. Senator Timothy E. Wirth, now on a private visit to Poland, today met with director of the Department of Studies and Programming at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jerzy Nowak.

The two discussed the proposals contained in the Jaruzelski Plan in light of the new situation which surfaced in the wake of the signing of the Gorbachev-Reagan agreement, with special regard to issues of reducing conventional forces in Europe and preventing a sudden attack.

The senator was presented with detailed explanations pertaining to the possibility of putting the Polish leader's plan into effect as with the essence of Polish reasoning on issues of disarmament and security.

At the Sejm (parliament), Timothy E. Wirth called on deputy chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, member of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State Ryszard Wojna. During the talks the American senator showed big interest in the work of the Consultative Council and, in this context, in the program of the social, political and economic reforms being introduced in Poland.

The sides also discussed various aspects of European affairs, giving much attention to German issues and security matters on the continent. Also discusses were possible long-term consequences which the U.S.-USSR dialogue and the Washington agreement signed by the leaders of the two countries.

Senator Wirth also met with First Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army Gen. Miecyslaw Dachowski and held a discussion meeting with scientists from the Polish Institute of International Affairs Pism.

In the course of the meeting the sides discussed a broad variety of issues tied with the current international situation, with special regard to issues of disarmament and security.

In the early afternoon Senator Wirth was received at a private audience by Poland's Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

'Unauthorised' Film Shown on Jewish Massacre

AU101631 Paris AFP in English
1625 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 10 (AFP)—Polish opposition filmmakers have screened an unauthorised film on a little-known episode in Polish history, the pogrom of Kielce where 42 Jews who escaped the Nazi holocaust were killed in July 1946.

The 26-minute film, directed by Marcel Lozinksi, uses contemporary footage and eye-witness reports on the massacre in the southern Polish town of Kielce where 42 Jews died and 67 others were seriously injured.

Entitled "Witnesses", the film was shown in Warsaw on Saturday to a 300-strong audience, including many Polish opposition members, at the offices of the Club of Catholic Intellectuals (KIK).

It was co-produced by the clandestine publishing house Nowa, the banned trade union Solidarity and a French television production company.

Two hundred hours of eye-witness reports were shot over a period of almost two years, in 1986 and 1987, and then edited down and incorporated with contemporary newsreel material.

"Witnesses" will be distributed in Poland illegally as a video-cassette and shown in France in a French-language version on the state-run television station FR3.

The Kielce pogrom, one of the darkest incidents in Poland's postwar history, has been almost totally passed over by Polish authorities and historians, and the great majority of Poles remain unaware of what happened at Kielce.

Mr Lozinski, a supporter of Solidarity, said his film aimed to lift the veil on the incident.

In the film, the interviewees, many of them officials, describe the climate of anti-Semitism that prevailed at Kielce just after the war.

They tell of how police and soldiers broke into a building where Jews—most of them survivors of the death-camps—were sheltering prior to seeking emigration to Palestine.

Local people joined in, and the massacre rapidly spread to other parts of the town.

"It was enough for someone to shout: 'There's a Jew' and everyone would set on him", one witness said.

After the viewing of "Witnesses", several Polish opposition members, notably Jacek Kuron and Zbigniew Bujak, said they were glad that such a film could be made.

"It's a film that tells it like it is. Poles have got to understand that one day they must come to terms with such incidents", Mr Kuron said.

Weekly Poses Questions of Olympics' Impact

AU081353 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
2 Jan 88 p 11

[Wojciech Liponski dispatch from Seoul: "The Olympic Snarl"]

[Excerpts] The complicated political situation of the coming Olympic Games has kept the world guessing for the past few years. It is true that the question of whether socialist countries would participate has ceased to scare us, but other questions, just as important, are still there. Will the Koreans reach an accord on joint Olympics? Will the Olympics accelerate the process of reconciling the two Koreas? Or will they intensify the crisis in their mutual relations? Will the Korean Olympic case become a genuine factor in world peace for the first time in the modern history of Olympic Games by fulfilling the Coubertine idea of bringing nations closer together, despite their political divisions? [passage omitted]

The 1988 Olympic Games deserve the keen attention not only of journalists, but also of political experts, because events in Seoul (and perhaps in Pyongyang) will probably not only prejudge the future of the Olympics—their survival or moral failure—but will also exert a strong influence on important non-sporting issues, such as the climate between the two political blocs, bilateral negotiations between the two Korean states, and overall internal Asian relations.

The Asian Games in Seoul provided a typical background for these relations. The participation of People's China in these games and the fact that Beijing will organize these games in 1990 had political repercussions of enormous range. Unfortunately, non-Asian commentators traditionally omitted to notice these repercussions as well as Juan Antonio Samaranch's meeting with the Chinese minister of sport during the 1987 African Games in Nairobi (the Chinese built sporting installations there, which shows that the PRC continues to take advantage of sport in order to consolidate its influence in Africa). After all, Samaranch's meeting with the Chinese minister became an important stage in the development of relations between the PRC and the International Olympic Committee and laid the groundwork for an

"accidental" meeting between Samaranch and Zhao Ziyang during the Canton games. For 32 years these relations were very bad because of Taiwan. It was not until Los Angeles that the PRC and Taiwan teams attended the Olympic Games and their competitors even mounted the winning stands together.

Like Seoul, Beijing plans to treat the 1990 Asian Games as a general rehearsal prior to the Olympics proper, because there is no doubt that the 2000 Olympic Games will take place in Beijing. That is why the Korean precedents acquire extra importance. The way in which these precedents are settled (by a correct interpretation of the Olympic Charter, for example) will be instrumental in solving the future Olympic issue of the PRC versus Taiwan, because, despite progress in rapprochement, it is more than doubtful that China will be united in the next 12 years.

The Olympic Charter states that it is the duty of the national Olympic Committees to resist "any political, religious, and economic pressures." However, although morally desirable, this sovereignty is actually fiction, as is most clearly demonstrated by the three most recent amputated Olympic Games. The Montreal games were boycotted by the African states because of the presence of RSA competitors and of teams having contacts with the RSA. The Moscow Olympic Games were boycotted by the United States and many Western states because of Afghanistan. When the teams of the USSR and most socialist states (except for Romania, the PRC, and Yugoslavia) failed to appear in Los Angeles people seemed to be convinced that the idea of the Olympics was on its last legs and would soon collapse under the blows of the political measures that were far removed from the spirit of Olympic understanding and peace. This conviction was shored up by entrusting the 1988 Olympic Games to Seoul, a city that was exceptionally blessed with the capacity to provoke another serious political conflict in connection with the Olympics.

However, two concepts to save the idea of the Olympics were born in an atmosphere of general depression. In November 1984 Fidel Castor proposed that the 1988 games should be held in both Koreas. His idea was most logical: If games are held simultaneously in the capitals representing opposing political systems, the two blocs will not boycott each other.

However, Castro was not a favorite with the Western Olympic pressure groups. On the other hand, the pragmatic nature of his idea induced the people concerned to bring about, without making any publicity for Castro, negotiations between the International Olympic Committee and the two Korean committees. These negotiations were very heavy going, and for a moment it seemed that they were just an alibi to palm the international public off with the excuse: We have tried, but nothing doing.

The acceleration of these negotiations was coerced by another concept—by the Good Will Games—which were occasioned by the disappointment of sportsmen, on the one hand, and of businessmen connected with sports, on the other. Whereas the former saw the threatened defeat of their sporting aspirations, the latter could never come to terms with the obvious losses in their profits accumulating from sports. In this way ridiculed sporting idealism and accursed commercialism joined forces to rehabilitate common sense. [passage omitted] The sluggish talks between the two Koreas on jointly organizing the Olympic Games acquired a new vigor. [passage omitted]

Even if one considers the question of joint Olympic Games in terms of the separate identity of "two states" and "two countries," there is an important precedent that would facilitate joint organization in two independent territories. During the 1956 games in Melbourne equestrian events were held in Stockholm (this was because of Australia's draconian quarantine regulations).

In the opinion of the few commentators who have expressed views about the talks between the two Korea's, the DPRK would find it easier to achieve its objectives if it were to place greater emphasis not so much on propaganda rhetoric (however justified it may be) as on obtaining broader support from international opinion by employing more convincing means. This is because, while the DPRK restricted its activities to justified demands (although they were excessively high for too long), South Korea cleverly cultivated world opinion by organizing a series of pre-Olympic competitions and conferences for trainers, sportsmen, people connected with sport, and intellectuals.

So far, only the vice president of Syria, Abd al-Halim Khaddam, has announced that his country would withdraw from the games in Seoul if the DPRK's conditions were not met (the Syrian team did not take part in last year's Asian games for similar reasons). Last August the International Olympic Committee rejected the DPRK's proposals concerning the fifth round of talks and decided to send out invitations to take part in the games, regardless of what progress the representatives of the two Korean states had made in reaching an agreement. The surprisingly firm tone of the communique excluded the possibility of any changes being made to the type and number of events offered the DPRK. It was essentially an ultimatum of the take it or leave it kind.

The categorical tone of the communique, however, was at least partly due to the fact that agreement was not reach on a visit by representatives of the International Olympic Committee to the DPRK for the purpose of familiarizing themselves with the country's organizational capabilities. This is what gave rise to the obvious irritation present in Samaranch's statement, which was, however, quickly eliminated from later documents issued by the International Olympic Committee.

During the ceremony connected with the signing of invitations to attend the games Samaranch declared that the International Olympic Committee "is continuing to keep the door open." At the beginning of October the president of the International Olympic Committee was invited to a conference in Sofia for chairmen of Olympic Committees in the socialist countries. He was told that these countries support the DPRK's demands but, at the same time, he was given to understand that there would be no withdrawal from the games to express solidarity. Samaranch also informed journalists that a letter had been sent to Mikhail Gorbachev proposing a private meeting, that it had been received favorably, and that the proposal would be accepted in the near future. Perhaps the best comment regarding this was a statement made by Marat Gramov, the head of Soviet sports, who almost used the same words as Samaranch in an interview given to the Katowice publication SPORT: "The door has not been closed." Shortly afterwards the DPRK proposed a fifth round of talks without setting any preconditions, and Fidel Castro once again offered to mediate.

But the atmosphere in relations between the two Korean states unexpectedly deteriorated in the middle of October following an unfortunate incident in DPRK territorial waters when a South Korean fishing boat was sunk (11 crewmen lost their lives). In addition to this, there was the November Korean Airlines disaster on the border between Burma and Thailand.

What will happen next? It is difficult to make any clear-cut predictions. In South Korea there was a bitter pre-election struggle that lasted several months between the ruling Democratic Justice Party and the opposition Party of Democratic Reunification. This struggle made negotiations with the DPRK particularly difficult. The government, which wanted to ensure the victory of its candidate for the presidency, Roh Tae Woo, primarily sought the support of conservative, anticommunist voters. And they could have considered concessions to the DPRK a sign of political weakness, or even—as one South Korean Olympic activist described it—"selling off the free Korean Republic's Olympic interests." It is true that, according to the spirit of the Charter of the Olympic movement, politics should not become involved in Olympic affairs, but it is the Democratic Justice Party that occupies key positions in South Korean sport—and having won the elections it will continue to do so—and its members are also members of the Olympic Committee.

Their anticommunism certainly will not be discarded, but it will definitely lose some of its momentum when it is not needed for immediate electoral reasons. Shortly before the elections the DPRK announced far-reaching concessions in the event of a victory for the South Korean opposition. The opposition lost, but the president designate announced a policy of national reconciliation. But is it enough to convince the North of Olympic political goodwill. Will the opposition's charges of electoral abuses and the protest actions that have been announced pour oil on the flames?

Koreans in both countries still have some time to reach an agreement because the deadline for providing confirmation of participation in the games falls on 17 January. Let us hope that they will manage to use this "last chance" sensibly.

Jaruzelski Addresses Diplomatic Corps

LD082202 Warsaw PAP in English
2030 GMT 8 Jan 88

["Jaruzelski's New Year's Address to Diplomatic Corps—(abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—In his New Year's speech to diplomatic corps here today the Polish leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, stressed that the world currently faces a great chance. The Washington summit meeting had a special dimension. The agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles was, therefore, not exclusively a bilateral event. This is owing to the fact that it gives one true satisfaction, becomes a common legacy of all countries. It goes to show the expediency and effectiveness of steadfast, honest negotiations. It could be a model for a constructive approach and overcoming of even the most serious descrepancies.

The admiration for the leaders and governments of both superpowers and for all those who contributed to the signing of this historic treaty is universal. We trust that it will be ratified and fully put into effect on schedule. It would be a great harm to Europe, for the whole detente process, were the limitation of one category of arms to create a temptation to seek compensation in other weapons. Only one direction of movement should be binding on the road towards disarmament.

Our nation has historic and contemporary reasons to envisage the chief roadsign of its foreign policy in the striving for detente, in comprehensive development of cooperation.

Presented last year, the Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe is open and flexible. Hence, it provides a good footing for business-like negotiations on any appropriate forum. It is with satisfaction that we note hitherto interest in it. We expect the current year to render the discussion on our initiative more specific.

This year, Poland will continue, in proportion to her potentialities, to actively participate in organizing peaceful order in Europe, which would be based upon nonviolability of post-war borders and real security for every state.

Poland is entering another stage of the implementation of economic reconstruction and the deepening of socialist democracy. We realize that difficulties may occur, nevertheless, we expect the current year to see perceptible progress in the grand work of comprehensive renewal of the life of our people and state. The new politico-economic quality, which is now gradually emerging here, should irrevocably put behind us the calculations and stereotypes still lingering on here and there. May I be allowed to express the conviction that we will not be the only ones to benefit from the successes of realism.

I wish to once again thank all those governments who, during the difficult period for Poland, did not add to our hardships, but were sympathetic and displayed understanding. We also appreciate the progress of the normalization of relations between Western states and Poland. We count for the year 1988 to further add momentum to our political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation with foreign countries.

Messner Meets With Economists

LD091513 Warsaw PAP in English
0043 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—Premier Zbigniew Messner, the chairman of the Honorary Committee of the Congress of Polish Economists, met today with a group of the organizers of the congress, which was held at the end of November 1987, to discuss its results.

Prof. Jozef Pajestka, who chaired the debates of the congress, said that the congress indicated a significant consolidation of the economic milieu and was a manifestation of its great involvement in the affairs of the country. This was considerably influenced by the publication, before the congress, of the realizational programme of the reform which announced a more radical and consistent implementation of the economic reform in Poland—something the economists had been advocating for a long time.

Prof. Teodor Kramer stressed that the economists taking part in the congress were unanimous in postulating that price be treated as an economic category, determined by the laws of supply and demand. The achievement of this goal should occur through the introduction of equilibrium prices on the individual markets.

Prof. Adam Wilczynski said that the hitherto limited effectiveness of the reform is caused by, among other things, an instrumental approach to the reform and changes in mentality which are taking too long. He criticized the opinion that the implementation of the second stage of the reform would not bring about a deterioration of the standard of living of some social groups.

Prof. Stanislaw Raczkowski accentuated the need of seriously treating the issue of Poland's foreign debt which is growing solely because of the incurred costs of debt servicing (capitalization of interest).

Confirming the fact that the congress contributed to the consolidation of the milieu of Polish economists, Edward Getkowski, drew attention that this took place with an open formula of the congress, which made participation possible for people of various views and differing political and ideological attitudes. From this point of view the congress fulfilled an important role in the act of national conciliation.

At the end of the meeting the participants were addressed by Premier Zbigniew Messner. The premier stressed the multi-aspect importance of the Polish Economists' Congress, drawing attention to the government's openness to the conclusions stemming from it. Referring to the problems connected with the economic reform Messner said that it was an all-social process. The reform's success depands not only on the attitudes and will of its realization in the centre, but at all levels of the economy.

The meeting was also attended by the chairman of the Society of Polish Economists Prof. Zdzislaw Sadowski.

PRON Presidium Discusses Election Law

LD072034 Warsaw PAP in English
1830 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7: The Presidium of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) National Council Executive Committee, chaired by Jan Dobraczynski, met here today to discuss the movement's stand on changing the law on elections to people's councils.

PRON's stand is ensuing from the 2nd PRON congress resolution, which states, in part, that, "in the process of further democratization of the electoral system, PRON will make every effort to provide the citizens with full opportunities to forward and assess candidates at pre-election assemblies and provide them with the possibility of a choice out of several candidates forwarded on equal rights, that is, without legal preferences."

A more elaborate stand of the movement on the recently announced draft electoral law will be adopted by the National Council at its nearest session on Jan. 18-19.

The Presidium is of the opinion that too little time was given for public consultation on the draft submitted by the council of State.

The Presidium acquainted itself with a report on the use of the National Health Protection Fund, one of PRON agencies.

Over 15 years of its existence, the fund acquired 67 billion zloties, half a million roubles, and half a million dollars from Poles employed abroad.

During the years 1973-86, these funds helped build or modernize 1,561 health and social protection centres.

The presidium resolved to call on ecology movements and organisations to exchange views on the implementation of the catchword "Europe—ecologically clean zone."

The Presidium decided to appoint an honorary committee of the 2nd congress of the culture of the Polish language and asked president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski to preside over the committee.

Malinowski Discusses Economic Policies, Plans

PM081133 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 17 Nov 87 p 3

[Report by Jerzy Galeba on 13 November 1987 meeting in Rogowiec between Roman Malinowski, Sejm speaker and chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, a team of government experts, and Lodz region miners and administrators: "Talking About the Future"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Before the discussion began, a list of 18 questions prepared before the start of the meeting was read. Among other things, the questions referred to the government prices policy, the possibility of unemployment, and the expected date for abolishing the remaining enclaves of the food rationing system. They also reflected serious doubts about the feasibility of achieving any significant improvement in the country's economic situation over the next 2-3 years in view of the power shortage, which by the year 2000 is expected to be of the order of 5,000-10,000 megawatts. [Passage omitted]

Other questions concerned government proposals for a modernization of the system of producer materials and equipment procurement after the planned abolition of the centrally steered distribution system, given that notorious shortages occur all over the country. There were also enquiries about the projected inflation rate for the next 12 months—considering the fact that the central annual plan for 1988 had to be prepared on the basis of the proposals for the second stage of the economic reform, and taking into account the importance of the relationship between price and wage increases...

As expected, the ZSL Supreme Committee Chairman and Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski answered the above questions, drawing occasionally—with reference to various details of the matters discussed—on the expertise and authority of specialists who accompanied him to the meeting. This delegation included, among others, Waldemar Michna, minister of environmental protection and natural resources.

"There will be no unemployment," said R. Malinowski. "We are not facing that threat. After all, many enterprises suffer manpower shortages. Clearly, we do not exclude the possibility of people moving from one place of employment to another, as some enterprises may offer lower pay than others, or some may go bankrupt while others may prosper...

"The task of reducing the threat of a power shortage in the power industry will not only require that we make energy savings but also that we make consistent use of such nontraditional energy sources as the nuclear power industry, small hydroelectric power stations situated in the rural localities they are meant to supply, and, finally—wherever feasible—wind generators. Examples of such solutions have already been put into operation. They are proving their usefulness in day-to-day service. What we need to do now is to make their use widespread." [Passage omitted]

A number of questions from the list had political implications. One of them, for instance, asked whether it would be permissible to have more than one trade union in any given enterprise; another concerned the activity of opposition groups within the country.

These issues are of key significance for all further development in the life of our society, and Roman Malinowski answered them unequivocally. The gist of his reply can be summarized as follows:

The possibility of the existence of alternative, "rival," trade union organizations within enterprises is not being considered. Those who want to be active in union work can be so in the existing unions. Democracy is something that must be learned. The interests of any given group cannot be considered in terms of "victors" and "vanquished." That would simply create a race of accelerating demands. Antisocialist opposition finds no popular support. Its presence in the life of our society is barely traceable. However, we should all join even now in forming an opposition to everything that still hinders the correct shaping of the blueprint for the development of a socialist Poland, against bureaucracy, against set and stereotyped habits of thought and action...

It was almost 1430 hours before the first question was asked from the floor. The questioner was engineer Lesniewski of the services department of the Belchatow coal mine.

"Mr Speaker, why are we introducing income tax modeled on the system obtaining in Hungary? Will it not create a disproportionate gap between rich and poor? Why are we following the Hungarians, knowing, as we do, that the average employed man cannot support himself and his family on what he gets for working 8 hours a day? We read about it in the daily papers..."

On the Sejm speaker's authorization, the question was answered by Andrzej Wroblewski, head of department:

"It is true that such a project is being considered. It is, however, only one of many possible models. Please believe me when I say that no final decision has yet been reached by the government in this matter. It is true that Hungarians have to work overtime. But you ought to take into consideration the fact that their living standard is some 50-70 percent higher than ours. They all know exactly what they can gain by working overtime..."

"Is there no danger that new artificial positions may now be created after the recent elimination of certain former structures of the central state apparatus?" This question was asked by a middle-aged man who walked up from the floor to the rostrum.

"No. There is no such danger," answered R. Malinowski. "On the other hand, it is necessary to provide jobs for certain persons in that group. Special commissions have been appointed to deal with this problem. I expect that many of those people will now reinforce the service sector—in its broader sense..." "Are they supposed to sell ice cream?" asked someone from the auditorium.

"Not necessarily," retorted R. Malinowski with a smile. "They can go back to the fields for which they had originally trained: doctors to the health service, teachers to education, engineers to industry..." [Passage omitted]

Former Premier Reportedly Backing Dissent

AU080821 Paris AFP in English
0431 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Vienna, Jan 8 (AFP)—Former Romanian Prime Minister Gheorghe Maurer is reported to have given his full backing to criticism voiced by former leading Communist Party member Karoly Kiraly about the country's "disastrous" economic situation.

Mr. Kiraly, a former member of the Party's Central Committee, sent a letter on August 16 to Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu asking for "fundamental reforms" long before the November riots by students at workers in Romania.

He added that he felt "sure" that "necessary steps would be taken" to "allow the situation to be rectified", according to the copy of the letter sent to AFP here by dissident sources.

The Hungarian Press of Transylvania, an underground newsletter circulated by ethnic Hungarians living in Romania, reported that a copy of Mr. Kiraly's letter to Mr. Ceausescu was also sent to Mr. Maurer.

The former prime minister, who held office from 1961 to 1974 and is now aged 86, reportedly wrote back to Mr. Kiraly, expressing support for his criticism of the country's economic situation.

He reportedly added, however, that he did not feel "sure" the situation would be rectified.

Mr. Kiraly, 58, an ethnic Hungarian who fell from grace in the late 1970's and now runs a canning factory in the central town of Tirgu Mures, told Mr. Ceausescu in his letter that he had surrounded himself with "careerists and adventurers who have not the least sense of responsibility".

"Lies flourish" in the country, and "have even been elevated to state policy," Mr. Kiraly was also quoted as saying.

Charter 77 Urges Protest at Romanian Missions

AU101700 Paris AFP in English
1634 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 10 (AFP)—Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 dissident group called Sunday for a day of protest outside Romanian embassies throughout Europe on 1 February in solidarity with hardships suffered by Romanians under President Nicolae Ceausescu.

"We appeal to all Europeans not to forget Romania and publicly to demonstrate their solidarity with the sorely tested Romanian people and resistance to the sovereign responsible for this suffering," the rights group said in a statement.

Charter 77 called for all Europeans to protest on 1 February by whatever means they could, "where possible by peaceful protests outside (Romanian) embassies."

"In the well-heated and lighted international conference halls, people forget that there exist in Europe countries where people are short of heat and light," the statement said.

In Romania, winter temperatures in apartments and offices rarely top 10 degrees celsius and Romanians are allowed only two 40-watt light bulbs per apartment, Charter 77 said.

It pointed out that basic foodstuffs such as flour, sugar and meat were still rationed 43 years after World War II ended.

"All the Romanian sovereign has given his people after 22 years in power is his ostentatious personality cult," Charter 77 said. [passage omitted]

Olympic Participation Reportedly Confirmed

AU081421 Paris AFP in English
1418 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Lausanne, Switzerland, Jan 8 (AFP)—Romania is the latest Eastern bloc country to confirm participation in the Olympic Games in Seoul this summer, the International Olympic Committee announced here on Friday.

And its acceptance of the Olympic invitation brings the number of countries who have announced their intention of competing to 145, breaking the record of 140 countries who took part in the last games in Los Angeles.

In addition to the list of 138 countries released by the IOC on Wednesday, Mali and Chile confirmed their participation on Thursday, and on Friday they were joined by Angola, the Central African Republic, Uganda and Burma, the IOC said.

The deadline for acceptance is January 17.

Of the other Eastern bloc countries, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Poland have already accepted, the Soviet Union are expected to decide on Tuesday, although several leading sports officials have indicated they will accept, and Czechoslovakia will decide next Friday, two days before the deadline. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu Receives U.S. Senator in Sinaia

AU081923 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1831 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/1/1988—On Friday, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received in Sinaia U.S. Senator Arlen Specter, who is paying a visit to Romania.

During the talk emphasis was placed on the cooperative links betwe Romania and the U.S.A., as well as on existing possibilities to develop those ties on the economic, technical, scientific and cultural planes, as well as in other areas of mutual interest, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Aspects of the international life were also approached.

In that framework, President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the special importance of a realistic approach to the problems of peace and war, of interstate relations, the need to further work in all firmness for detente, the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place. The recent signing of the treaty between the USSR and the U.S.A. on the liquidation of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was considered as an important step that should to pave the road to further accords on a complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Stress was also laid on the need to further work for a passage to a substantial cut in conventional arms and the achievement of a balance at the lowest possible level.

During the talk the importance was underlined of settling the states of tension and conflict by peaceful means, through negotiations.

Referring to the latest developments in the Middle East, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the area called for an international conference under UN aegis to be attended by all the sides concerned, by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, as well as by the Security Council permanent members, too.

During the interview, the U.S. senator expressed his appreciation for the constructive stance and initiatives of Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu in the field of disarmament and the resolution of the major problems of the international life.

Giosan, Ivascu Receive Congressmen

AU071849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1826 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/01/1988—Thursday, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], Nicolae Giosan, received American Senator Arlen Specter, now on a visit to Romania.

During the interview, opinions were exchanged on the contribution of parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries to the expansion and diversification of relations in the economic, technical-scientific, cultural and in other domains. Emphasis was also placed on the parliaments' role in the struggle for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for a climate of peace and collaboration on our planet.

On the same day, Marin Ivascu, vice-chairman of the GNA, chairman of the Romanian Group in the Interparliamentary Union, met with Frank Wolf and Cristopher Smith, members of the House of Representatives of U.S. Congress. Reference was made to aspects of bilateral collaboration, as well as of collaboration within international parliamentary bodies.

Sinaia Ceremony Marks E. Ceausescu's Birthday

AU071857 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1743 GMT 7 Jan 88

["Mme Elena Ceausescu Celebrated on Her Birthday"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/01/1988—Elena Ceausescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education, was celebrated on her birthday and long activity in the communist and working-class movement during a ceremony held in Sinaia resort on Thursday, January 7.

The ceremony was attended by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceausescu, full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government.

In that festive atmosphere Mme Elena Ceausescu was handed over the letter of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister.

The letter the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP addressed to Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., on her birthday is highly appreciative of her long activity in the communist and working-class movement, of her contribution to the fight for the country's social and national liberation, for the revolutionary transformation of society and the building of the new destiny of Socialist Romania.

Our whole party and people give a high and unanimous appreciation to your activity as an outstanding party and state militant and eminent scientist, to your decisive contribution—as a member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, first deputy prime minister and chairman of the National Council of Science and Technology—to the substantiation and carrying into effect of the grandiose plans for the organization and modernization of production, for a higher productivity and economic efficiency, to the attainment of the targets of the new revolution in science and technology and of the new agrarian revolution, to the unflinching implementation of the party programme, the letter of the Executive Political Committee further reads.

The letter also highlights the activity carried out by Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., in scientific and technological research, her role in the development of the Romanian science, education and culture, in the rallying and organization of the forces in this sector to the end of ensuring the country's multilateral progress and the success of the revolution in science and technology in Romania, of enriching the spiritual life, broadening the knowledge and raising the level of culture of the entire people.

The Executive Political Committee also underscores that the life and activity of the scholar-citizen and politician Elena Ceausescu enjoy worldwide appreciation due to the contribution she makes to the assertion of the Romanian science, to the development of world knowledge, to using science and culture in promoting the lofty ideals of peace and understanding among peoples.

Reference is made to the activity carried on by Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., in her capacity as chairman of the "Scientists and Peace" National Council for the strengthening of cooperation and collaboration with other organizations of scientists from all over the world, in the struggle for safeguarding peace, for disarmament and the removal of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, for science, education and culture to serve exclusively civilization, cooperation and understanding among nations, their free and dignified development.

Expressing the thoughts and feelings shared by the entire people on this anniversary, those attending the ceremony warmly congratulated Mme Elena Ceausescu wishing her a long life, happiness, health and power of work, further successes in her activity devoted to the attainment of the goals set by the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the RCP, to the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

Demographic Policy, Care for Children Noted

AU091547 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1022 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 9/1/1988—Romania's current population counts 23 million citizens, a figure reached early in December 1987. Demographic statistics show that between 1965 and 1987, the population growth was of 4 million, so that the birthrate in Romania is the highest in Europe.

The Romanian state's demographic policy focusses on supporting families and children rearing. Billions of lei are yearly invested to build creches and maternities, schools and medical institutions, cultural establishments, dwellings to the benefit of the 4.6 million children under 16, for whom state grants are also given. These went up 25 percent lately, following the measures taken in recent years to support families with children.

Currently, the funds earmarked by the Romanian state for families with several children, rose more than 7 times from 1985 (from 488 million lei in 1985 to more than 3.7 billion lei in 1987). Yearly, more than 777,000 mothers with several children benefit by these grants as against 167,000 in 1987. [as received] There are 871 creches for 82,000 in Romania and 12,548 kindergartens for 836,200. Medical units for children were extended in the last twenty years to take three times more children, while 99 percent of the babies are born in proper medical units.

Leaders Public Appearances 3-9 Jan

AU092029 [Editorial Report] Romanian media monitored between 3 and 9 January 1988 report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

On 6 January, President Nicolae Ceausescu received departing Zambian Ambassador Gibson R. Zimba in Sinaia resort. (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1619 GMT)

On 7 January, President Nicolae Ceausescu attended a luncheon given by the PEC of the RCP Central Committee in honor of Elena Ceausescu's birthday (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1822 GMT) and the ceremony in Sinaia resort marking Elena Ceausescu's birthday. (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1743 GMT)

On 7 January, PEC member Elena Ceausescu spoke at a luncheon given on her birthday by the PEC of the RCP Central Committee (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1822 GMT) and attended Sinaia ceremony in honor of her birthday. (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1743 GMT)

On 7 January, PEC candidate member Nicolae Giosan received U.S. Senator Arlen Specter. (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1826 GMT)

On 8 January, President Nicolae Ceausescu received U.S. Senator Arlen Specter in Sinaia resort. (Bucharest AGERPRES English 1831 GMT)

FEC Raises Milk Prices, Discusses Economy
LD072202 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Today the FEC held a session, presided over by Milos Milosavljevic, at which, in cooperation with appropriate republican and provincial organs, a decision was made to determine the highest level of prices for pasteurized and sterilized milk and children's food. On the basis of this, the Federal Secretariat for Information states, from tomorrow the retail price of pasteurized milk will be increased by 32.8 percent over the current price. The price of a liter of sterilized milk will rise by 16 percent as of tomorrow. The minimum purchase price of milk is also increased and from now on it will be 99.2 dinars per milk fat unit at collection points. The increase is 46.9 percent. Compared to children's food prices of 14 November 1987, the increase is 18 percent. [passage omitted]

The FEC also established stands on comments and proposals in connection with the draft resolution on the country's socioeconomic development this year. The council also established an additional FEC proposal to the draft law on determining the total volume of federal budget expenses in 1988. According to the proposal, the total volume of the federal budget's expenses would be 5,659.9 billion dinars. Compared to the original proposal, the new one is smaller by 109,891.5 million dinars.

To cover the overall budget expenses, the federation would ensure 4,532.8 billion dinars from the revenues levied by itself, while 1.127 billion dinars would be provided from the contributions of the republics and provinces. [passage omitted on planned energy usage for 1988 and the need to undertake a uniform fire protection system]

Debate on Federal Budget To Resume 11 Jan
LD071635 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The harmonization of stands on the draft resolution for this year and several accompanying documents and the draft federal budget will resume on Monday 11 January. All these documents should be adopted sometime in the middle of next week.

This was concluded today at a meeting between Drasko Popovic, president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, and presidents of working bodies and presiding delegations. [passage omitted]

Secrecy in Ministry Appointment 'Pointless'
AU081613 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 88 p 1

[Zivko Milic commentary: "The Pointless Secret"]

[Text] With the SFRY Assembly selection and confirmation of Raif Dizdarevic as member and then vice president of the SFRY Presidency, the FEC has lost one of its key members and the country its foreign minister. During consultations, and in line with some bad traditions, the public does not know who the candidates and favorites are for the post of federal secretary for foreign affairs.

This pointless secret is known by perhaps 500 or 600 political and state officials, including those clerks who actually perform manipulative tasks with internal information or occupy more or less important offices. Although it is not confidential and although no one will be disciplined or charged with a criminal offense for its disclosure, the secret is kept, through the inertia of the deeply rooted prejudice that the people do not have to know everything.

True, the highest state organs and those asked to form a government possess legally regulated and even discretionary rights which enable them, on the basis of established criteria and forms of consultation and, at certain stages, even without public knowledge, to reach some cadre decisions about the highest state positions before they are discussed in the Assembly. However, considering all this, it is not normal—when we are already talking so much about socializing and publicizing cadre politics—to resort to a total conspiracy and totally ignore the new, awakened, democratic sensitivity in society.

The people do not perhaps have to know everything, but it is certain that they rightly expect to know as much as possible. If newspaper correspondents daily tell the people why Ronald Reagan nominates this or that judge or minister and why the American Congress agrees with him or not, it is logical to assume that they will expect similar and even fuller information from the same newspapers about the candidates for our own ministers. If, through the sometimes hypocritical criticism of Dragoslav Markovic's memoirs, the public is alarmed at the practice of cadre decision-making outside the domain of the public, then it should offer as much proof as possible that this practice has been liquidated.

The public is not indifferent to the question of who will fill the most responsible positions in the state and what their capabilities, knowledge, and experience are. It would like to know who is representing it in the world and why. It would like to get to know all the candidates, and those who failed in the final selection would not, certainly as far as the public was concerned, lose their reputation. If it is already too late for all this, we have, if nothing else, missed an opportunity to learn something about declared democracy.

But there will be other opportunities, won't there?

PCI's Napolitano Arrives on Visit 6 Jan
LD080900 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2256 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, January 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and Italian Communists positively assess the results of the meeting between Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev

and U.S. President Ronald Reagan last December and maintain that it is now necessary to make a further headway in disarmament, as Directorate and Secretariat Member of the Italian Communist Party Giorgio Napolitano stated at a news conference in Belgrade this evening.

Napolitano yesterday arrived on an official visit to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency. He today met with LCY Presidency President Bosko Krunic and LCY Presidency Member Vasil Tupurkovski. The talks, in keeping with the traditionally friendly relations between the Italian Communist Party and the LCY, covered further cooperation between the two parties and trends in the international communist and workers' movement.

Speaking at the news conference, Napolitano said that Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned and non-bloc country, could significantly contribute to the solution of international economic problems.

Napolitano set out that his visit to Yugoslavia had also been aimed at carrying out exchanges of views on Yugoslavia's relations with Italy and with the European Community. It is our duty to express solidarity and sympathy with Yugoslavia in its efforts to overcome the current economic crisis, Napolitano said. He indicated that the Italian Communist Party would take concrete steps along that line in the Italian and the European parliaments and underscored that it was both in the interest of Italy and Europe to intensify cooperation with Yugoslavia.

Napolitano said that the current crisis in Yugoslavia was partly a consequence of the inequitable international economic relations and high interest rates, which affect Yugoslavia and the other developing countries.

Italian Communist Party representative in the European Parliament Giorgio Rossetti also took part in the news conference. He said that he would urge the European Parliament to uphold Yugoslavia's request for the rescheduling of its foreign debt and Yugoslavia's efforts to increase exports to the E.C. member-countries. Rossetti set out that it would also be proposed to the European Parliament to approve an aid grant to Yugoslavia and lend support to Yugoslavia's participation in individual projects of the Eureka high technology research programme.

Meets With Dolanc, Departs 8 Jan

LD081405 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1137 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 8 (TANJUG)—Central Committee Secretariat Member of the Italian Communist Party Giorgio Napolitano, who visited Yugoslavia at the invitation of the League of Communists Central Committee, left today from Belgrade.

Prior to the departure Napolitano was received by State Presidency Member Stane Dolanc. The ensuing talk focused on Yugoslav-Italian relations and international questions.

In closing talks between Napolitano and LCY Central Committee Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski ways to promote further cooperation between the LCY and the Italian Communist Party were discussed, as the Italian Communist Party represents an important part of good-neighbour relations between Yugoslavia and Italy.

Novi Pazar Strikers Return To Work

LD092020 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Before the beginning of the program we received information about the ending of a strike in a large collective in the Sandzak: after the fulfillment of their demands, 2,000 workers at the Ras shoe factory in Novi Pazar who were on strike for 2 days, have gone back to work. Workers in direct production will have their personal incomes increased by 80 percent and those in administration by 30 percent, and workers who in the last 3 years have transferred from production to administration will go back to the shop floor. Those responsible for the current complex situation have been called to account. This was decided at the third extraordinary meeting of the employees in the second largest collective in Novi Pazar.

Kosovo Man Jailed for Lauding Paracin Crime

AU082037 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 88 p 11

[S.T. report: "For Lauding the Paracin Crime—18 Months in Prison"]

[Text] Zajecar, 5 Jan—At the District Court in Zajecar,a worker at Elektroremont in Bor, Nergiz Imeri (22) from Dragas in Kosovo, was sentenced to 1 and 1/2 years in prison for stirring up nationalistic and religious hatred. Imeri said in front of witnesses at his place of work that "Serbs and Montenegrins should not be moved out of Kosovo but should be killed" and that he "would never rape a Serbian woman because he would then feel dirty." He also praised Aziz Keljmendi, the killer of the Paracin barracks soldiers: "I was impressed by the man who staged such a show in Paracin. I only blame him for being so stupid and not ensuring his escape across the border."